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USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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12 September 1984

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INTERNATIONAL

NONALIGNED MOVEMENT ACTIVITIES SINCE 1983 DELHI MEETING

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 4, Jul-Aug 84 pp 2-4

[Article by Mirpasha Zeynalov, secretary of the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with Asian and African Countries: "The Nonaligned Movement Is Scoring Fresh Successes"]

[Text]

More than a year has passed since the 7th Conference of Heads of State or Government of Nonaligned Nations in Delhi, the capital city of India. Subsequent international developments have provided fresh proof of the vital importance and urgency of the decisions it adopted, specifically on war and peace, on halting the arms race and establishing just economic relations.

The political and organisational development of the nonaligned movement joined by countries in the zone of national liberation and its emergence on the international scene reflect a natural trend towards the increasing role and prestige of Asian, African and Latin American nations and the enhanced influence of their concerted policies on present-day world affairs.

Certain external forces have always been seeking, directly or indirectly, by hook or crook (even through misuse of nonaligned member countries) to lead the movement away from major world issues, "switch" it over to fruitless discussion of local and specific (sometime burning) problems, and infuse destructive concepts in their ideological and political platform, such as, for example, the idea of the movement's "equidistance" from the US and the Soviet Union, or "equal responsibility" of the imperialist powers and the Soviet Union for the economic difficulties of developing countries. These attempts pursue quite obvious ends, i. e., to distort and, if possible, destroy the inner cohesion and organisational and political unity of the movement, to encourage centrifugal trends and to weaken its

relationships with other progressive forces, especially, countries of the socialist community.

The fast growth of the movement, both quantitative and qualitative, and the ability of its members, despite their political and social heterogeneity, to put up a united front on key tactics and strategies and express the general interests shared by all developing nations bespeak the viability of the movement.

The Delhi Conference has reaffirmed the allegiance of the movement to anti-imperialism, anti-colonialism and anti-racism and the aspirations of its member countries to jointly overcome underdevelopment and achieve progress.

The Conference unequivocally spoke up against war, its instigators and the arms race, for peace, defence, and goodneighbourly, equal relations between all countries.

The political import of the Conference and the moral force of its resolutions are particularly impressive against the background of the worrisome international situation today, which is marked by mounting aggressiveness of the US and imperialist ambitions in Western Europe, the Middle East, Central America, the Pacific and Indian Oceans and other regions.

The Conference's appeal to halt the slide towards nuclear conflict and agree on an international convention banning the use, testing, manufacture and stockpiling of nuclear weapons is particularly topical today when aggressive circles within the US and NATO are deploying in Western Europe new US first-strike missiles in defiance of the numerous constructive proposals of the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Treaty countries and the will of the world community and of the broad masses in the West. The appeal of the Delhi Conference to halt the arms race, specifically of nuclear armaments, to ban the testing of the latter and put a freeze on nuclear stockpiles is concordant with the well-known Soviet proposals for achieving real progress in the field of disarmament, up to and including total and complete disarmament.

The nonaligned movement has undertaken a series of large-scale actions for international peace and security which have won worldwide acclaim and underlay UN-sponsored programmes. Noteworthy among them is the proposal for turning the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace advanced at the 2nd Conference of the nonaligned nations in Cairo in 1964. Originally, the proposal was to make the Indian Ocean a nuclear-free zone. The Programme of Peace and International Cooperation adopted by the Cairo Conference condemned the intention of imperialist powers to create military bases in the Indian Ocean as a conscientious attempt to intimidate the newly-free African and Asian nations and an unjustified policy of neocolonialism and impe-

rialism several years before a military base was built on the Diego Garcia island.

The Soviet Union supports the demand of the nonaligned countries that the foreign military bases in the Indian Ocean be dismantled and that no mass destruction weapons be deployed there; also, that all forms of military-confrontation in the Indian Ocean be abolished and the Ocean be turned into a zone of peace.

The programme for a new international economic order advanced by nonaligned countries can be called a historic initiative without the least bit of exaggeration. In effect, it is designed to help the developing nations meet their most urgent challenges: to do away with the inherited underdevelopment and dependence on imperialist monopolies and their financial centres, to raise the living standards (which are now extremely low) of their population, and to secure just and equal economic and trade relationships between developing and industrialised Western countries.

It ought to be noted that even the rich oil-producing nonaligned countries solidarise with the idea of the new international economic order because, despite their relatively high foreign exchange earnings, the prospects of their growth are heavily contingent on the unpredictable demand for oil and gas in Western markets, as well as on transfers of mining and processing technology. On the whole, the economic, monetary and financial situation in the nonaligned countries causes grave concern of the respective governments and the world community. Their plight is illustrated by the following statistics cited at the Conference: towards the early eighties the aggregate balance-of-payment deficit and foreign debt of the developing nations had reached \$100 billion and \$600 billion respectively. There was an actual drop in per capita GDP in many countries as against the early period of independence. It is easy to discern behind these facts and figures the every-day hardships and misery of Africans, Asians and Latin Americans, exacerbated by a series of other factors resulting from the growing general crisis of capitalism, the spread of the latter's illnesses and vices throughout the young states' economic systems and the involvement of these nations in the US-encouraged arms race.

The developing countries' military spending has been skyrocketing at a menacing rate to \$81 billion in 1982 (\$28 billion in 1970). They account for almost 75 per cent of the world imports of armaments. These and many other facts mentioned in F. Castro's teeming report (entitled "The Economic and Social Crisis of the World") to the Delhi Conference speak eloquently of the heavy burden weighing on the young nations' weak economies and hampering their economic and social progress.

Thus, the concept of the new international economic order initiated by nonaligned countries is an anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist alternative to the economic and political slavery imposed on them by their former metropolitan states and the world capitalist economic system. The unbearable inequality and exploitation imposed by colonialism and imperialism, reads the Delhi appeal, continue to be the major sources of tension, conflicts and violence in the world.

The Summit Conference also supported the "South-South" formula which contemplates intensive growth of trade and economic relations between the nonaligned countries in contrast to unequal ties with the leading Western powers. Outstanding non-aligned leaders and theoreticians are correct in assuming that the formula plus extended mutually profitable and equal cooperation with socialist countries will strengthen the international economic and, consequently, political positions of the developing nations.

The concept of the new international economic order based on the fundamental principles of the UN Charter and international law calls for restructuring the world traditional economic relationships on a just and equitable basis that takes due account of the interests of developing nations and conduces to overcoming economic backwardness and their equal participation in world economic activities and trade. In pursuance of the objectives of the previous Havana Conference in 1979 the Delhi summit meeting reaffirmed the nonaligned countries' readiness for global negotiations within the UN framework for equal world economic relationships. In addressing the 38th session of the UN General Assembly Indira Gandhi, who heads the non-alignment movement, appealed to the world community for a positive response to the constructive proposals of the nonaligned nations to democratise international economic relations and render practical aid to developing countries in meeting their needs.

But the leading Western powers turn a deaf ear to these just demands. As is seen from the last UN General Assembly session and the earlier 6th UNCTAD Conference the ruling circles of imperialist powers, working hand in glove with the TNCs, loathe to lose their superprofits in the developing world and concede to the latter's just demands. Stressed Premier I. Gandhi, Chairman of the ruling Indian National Congress, at this Party's convention in the late 1983 in Calcutta that colonialism is in the past, but the industrial nations continue to enjoy 80 per cent of the profits, 90 per cent of technology, 82 per cent of world trade. The developing countries, she added, profit to the tune of \$30 billion from the export of 12 products, whereas

the industrial nations' profits from the processing of these products reach \$200 billion.

Within the framework of our continuing struggle for justice and equality, Indira Gandhi went on, we demand, together with other developing nations, the establishment of a fairer world economic order.

It is safe to assume that the struggle for carrying out this programme will require new coordinated actions on the part of nonaligned countries.

The Soviet Union sympathises with the resolve of the nonaligned nations to step up their struggle for restructuring international economic relations on a just and equal basis. Like the nonaligned countries, it stands for early global negotiations in the United Nations (in keeping with its General Assembly resolution) on major world economic problems involving all the parties concerned and with due account of their legitimate interests. This stand of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries was reaffirmed at the 38th session of the UN General Assembly.

Within the framework of their coordinated socio-economic platform the nonaligned countries seek to end their dependence on Western monopolies in the field of information, culture, education and communications. The programme for a new international information order adopted by them at the 5th Conference in Colombo (1976) envisages more extensive cooperation between these countries in the indicated fields, as well as the use of the experience and opportunities of UNESCO and other specialised UN agencies.

A regular meeting of the nonaligned countries' Information Ministers in Djakarta early this year backed up the idea of a more intensive "information decolonisation". In a special resolution they spoke highly of UNESCO's many-sided aid to developing countries and criticised the US Administration's discriminatory actions against this key international organisation.

As an official mouthpiece of states and governments the nonalignment movement relies on the mounting moral and political support of the developing world's public opinion. The progressive political parties, mass trade unions and the patriotic and liberation forces of Asia, Africa and Latin America view the movement as their ally in the struggle to radically improve workers' living standards, protect their countries' independence and sovereignty from imperialist encroachments, and safeguard peace and security for their peoples and the entire human race.

A concrete and material embodiment of this active interrelationship between the nonalignment movement and the socio-political forces is the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation (AAPSO). The AAPSO carries on extensive work to mobilise

the Afro-Asian and world public in support of the movement's anti-imperialist programmes and demands, seeking to materialise the large-scale projects and initiatives mentioned in the resolutions of the Delhi Conference.

The major activities and goals of the nonaligned movement compare well with the fundamental foreign policy principles of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. A thorough analysis reveals either closeness or identity of postures and objectives which indicates that there is plenty of common ground for cooperation in such vital fields as the struggle for peace, stopping the arms race, total and complete decolonisation, restructuring the international economic relations on just and democratic principles, and social progress.

No imperialist manoeuvres to draw nonaligned countries into the orbit of their policies can either remove or iron out the objective fundamental differences between the interests of the newly-born developing nations and those of imperialists who greedily seek to rob the developing nations of their natural, intellectual and other resources, and step up their exploitation. Convincing proof of this is the decisions of the Delhi and other conferences of the nonaligned countries.



India's consistent international peace policy has been always having a positive effect on the non-alignment movement's political platform and strategy. The "Indian factor" assumes special importance today as this great Asian state leads the movement and its Premier Indira Gandhi is vested with the high authority to speak on behalf of a hundred nonaligned countries as the head of the movement.

Mrs. Gandhi's energetic and purposeful endeavours in this responsible and noble field, her consistent efforts to strengthen world peace and security, to restore justice and equality in international economic cooperation and to abolish tension and conflicts caused by imperialism, Zionism and racism have won the nonaligned movement and its chairwoman worldwide support and respect.

Keeping apart from policies of aggression and war, opposition to colonialism and neocolonialism and every form of racial discrimination and increasing participation in the worldwide movement to prevent a nuclear disaster and help the human race survive constitute the constant and inherent characteristics of the nonaligned movement which irresistibly attracts not only the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, but also all peaceloving and progressive-minded forces.

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INTERNATIONAL

U.S. REFUTED ON SOVIET THREAT 'MYTH'

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 4, Jul-Aug 84 pp 6-9

[Article by Prof Vladlen Komarovskiy, doctor of philosophical sciences, under the rubric "Economics, Politics, Ideology": "What Is Behind the Myth About the 'Soviet Military Threat'"]

[Text]

In recent years US imperialism has more than once attempted to regain the positions of the world hegemonic power it had lost, and ensure for the United States the prevailing role as regards the socialist countries. Today the world witnesses another attempt of this kind. Under the cover of the myth about the "Soviet military threat" and its offshoots—the alleged "lagging behind" of the US in strategic and conventional weapons, the existence of "windows of vulnerability"—Washington began stationing Pershing and cruise missiles in Europe.

The imperialists' efforts at building up their might have the aim of ensuring military superiority over the USSR, and of building a material foundation to secure the implementation of the hegemonist global policy of the United States.

Although the policy is targeted, above all, against the USSR and other countries of the socialist community, it is hostile to the absolute majority of peoples and states of the whole world. In particular, according to the designs of American strategists, military superiority would make it possible to use the US military potential, without any limitations, for suppressing national liberation and progressive movements in the newly-free and developing countries.

Of late the world has witnessed many times how the US military machine was used for political blackmail, pressures and direct military interference in the internal affairs of the young states. Suffice it to mention the use of American troops in Salvador and Lebanon, and the overthrowing of the progressive government of Grenada. We could also mention the whipping up of

tension round Nicaragua, when Washington deems it possible to issue an ultimatum to this sovereign state, threatening it with an armed attack.

The myth about the "Soviet military threat" is also used to justify the "big stick" policy as regards the newly-free countries. The Reagan Administration claims that it is "rescuing" states of South and Central America, Africa and Asia from the aggression on the part... of the Soviet Union.

Under the cover of anti-Soviet rhetoric and the myth about the "Soviet military threat", Washington is seeking to impose its will on the young states, destabilise the political regimes which are not to its "liking", regarding these countries as a "battlefield" between the East and the West.

Today the solution of the problems of war and peace, discontinuation of the arms race, has ceased to be an exceptional prerogative of the governments of imperialist powers. Mass demonstrations, the creation of peace camps and of different organisations struggling for peace testify that a powerful popular movement which is becoming stronger day in, day out, opposes the aggressive policy of imperialism, and the latter cannot but reckon with this factor. This is why, alongside direct reprisals on an ever greater scale, it uses its propaganda machine in a bid to persuade the masses of the need for a military build-up, allegedly necessary for the preservation of peace on Earth.

Great efforts are being made to inculcate in the minds of the people in different countries the myth about the "Soviet military threat". Under the aegis of the US Information Agency (USIA) a special conference of the heads of propaganda services of 56 capitalist countries was held, which discussed problems of coordination and more efficient anti-Soviet and anti-communist measures taken through the mass media. It was also stated at the conference that there is a need to use on a broader scale the myth about the "Soviet military threat" as the principal propaganda cover for the US administration's actions.

This myth is in no way a new invention of imperialism. It was born practically simultaneously with the emergence of the Soviet state. The campaign of distorting the peaceloving foreign policy of the USSR has had its ups and downs. Taking into account the specifics of the international situation and the situation inside the US, and the interests of certain groups of the monopoly capital, each US administration imparted to that campaign its own colouring and direction. The present US administration has placed special emphasis on boosting the myth about the "Soviet

military threat", and has openly elevated the large-scale ideological subversive activities against the USSR and other socialist countries to the level of US state policy. A new means, "psychological warfare", was invented in the general strategy of confrontation with the existing socialism. Addressing British MPs on June 8, 1982, Reagan proposed no less than to organise a "crusade" against the USSR. In February 1983 the US State Department circulated a document elaborating on Reagan's speech and spelling out a plan of propaganda and subversive operations. As much as \$65 million was allocated for translating the plan into reality. In accordance with the President's instructions, some "novelties" were introduced directly into the content of the myth about the "Soviet military threat". They boil down to the following: moral and material support given by the USSR to the peoples fighting for their national emancipation is branded as "support of international terrorism". Although the absurdity of such contentions is self-evident and needs no refutation, a natural question arises: why do they connect the myth about the "Soviet military threat" with the revolutionary processes in the developing countries?

An analysis of the international situation shows that the present-day "version" of the myth is, to a considerable extent, a reaction of imperialism to the serious setbacks it had already suffered in the 1970s in the developing countries and continues to suffer today despite certain successes. In this context, suffice it to mention the fact that in the 1970s South Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea, Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia and Afghanistan fell out of the orbit of imperialist influence. On the other hand, the significance of the developing countries in the military-political and economic strategy of imperialist states (the USA above all) is growing constantly. For example, according to the Brookings Institution, the developing countries supply the US with nearly 40 per cent of its oil, 55 per cent of its copper ore, 90 per cent of its tin, 80 per cent of its tungsten, and with a considerable amount of other primary materials. In turn the newly-free countries account approximately for 40 per cent of US exports. The investments of US banks and corporations in the developing world have reached an immense scope.

Imperialism, fearing a new revolutionary wave which threatens to halt its exploitation of the developing countries, dictation and imposition of its will on them, again banks on weapons and, to somewhat justify itself in the eyes of the peoples, resorts to the time-tested method, i. e., the whipping up of the myth about the so-called Soviet threat. It is precisely in this way that the White

House explains to the peoples of Pakistan, Kuwait, Jordan, the Sudan, and other Asian and African countries the reasons for the setting up of the "central command" and for including the territories of the abovementioned states in its sphere of operation. As is known, none of these states asked the USA to do this.

At the same time the hue and cry about the "Soviet military threat" enables the US to keep up permanent tensions in different regions of the world and intensify the arms race in developing countries, selling them huge batches of weaponry, fettering them with debts, and placing them into direct economic and political dependence on Washington.

The development of the internal political situation in capitalist countries played an important part in the formation of the latest version of the myth about the "Soviet military threat". The profound crisis of capitalism which began in the 1970s and, as to its aftermath, can be compared only to the "Great Depression" of the 1930s, millions of unemployed, galloping inflation and a sharp drop in the standards of living of the population could not but cause a definite change in the moods of the peoples and governments of the developing countries. The popularity of the Western model of social development in young countries fell, while the attracting force of socialism, which never knows crises and unemployment, increased. In a bid to stop or weaken the undesirable process, imperialism accuses the Soviet Union of being the cause of all difficulties and states that it is socialism that is responsible for the deterioration of the international situation and hampers the solution of the domestic problems facing the young independent states.

For decades bourgeois propaganda raised hue and cry about the alleged adherence of the USSR to the "export of revolution", according to which any left-wing, progressive and sometimes simply liberal movement, political changes in a country, which were not to the liking of imperialism, were described as Moscow's intrigues.

In the years of international detente prominent political leaders in capitalist countries acknowledged the falsehood and primitiveness of such allegations based exclusively on rabid anti-communism and fanatical hatred of the Soviet Union. Today such concoctions, though somewhat renovated, are again in use.

The allegations about the "hand of Moscow", the "Soviet military threat" are based on a perverted interpretation of the internationalist character of Soviet foreign policy, the support given by the USSR to progressive and democratic move-

ments and to the struggle of peoples for equality. This support is described as the "export of revolution", and the urge towards the overthrow by force of the existing system.

Even persons who are not well versed in politics can easily see the ungroundedness of this version, of its "theoretical" basis.

One can cite a countless number of proofs and arguments in favour of the peaceloving character of foreign policy of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community. The unacceptability for the socialist states of the "export of revolution" follows from the foundations of Marxism-Leninism, according to which the cardinal premises of a social revolution consist in the development of internal contradictions. These are the fundamentals of Marxist dialectics. As early as 1882, Engels wrote on this score: "...the victorious proletariat can force no blessings of any kind upon any foreign nation without undermining its own victory by so doing."¹ Lenin, who developed the theory of an uneven economic and political development of separate capitalist countries under imperialism and who proved that the prerequisites for a social revolution in different countries mature unevenly, demonstrated by the very essence, by letter and spirit of this theory the decisive significance of the aggregate internal conditions for the triumph of the revolution. Following Marx and Engels, he spoke of the long and difficult birth of the social revolution, and of the transition from capitalism to socialism. If the transition, in one way or another, is linked with a war, he regarded such revolution an especially difficult case of birth.

Thus, the version about the "export of revolution", "the winning over" to its side of other countries, and of establishment of communism on earth by means of force has nothing in common with the theory of Marxism-Leninism and the principles of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook. Neither has it anything to do with the practice of social transformations. It is common knowledge that the Decree on Peace was one of the first documents of Soviet power. The peaceloving character of Soviet foreign policy has been legislatively recorded in the Constitution of the USSR. In recent years alone the Soviet Union has tabled scores of constructive proposals directed at improving the international situation, encouraging disarmament, discontinuing the arms race and solving outstanding problems by peaceful means. Even today when the situation in the world has sharply aggravated as a result of the deployment

¹ K. Marx, F. Engels, *Collected Works*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, Vol. 3, p. 481.

of US medium-range missiles in Europe, when the Soviet Union is compelled to take measures to ensure its security as well as the security of its allies, "it continues to adhere to its principled course towards halting the arms race, nuclear arms above all, reducing and finally completely eliminating the threat of a nuclear war. It will continue to spare no effort towards achieving these lofty goals," Yuri Andropov said in a statement of November 24, 1983.

Of course, the concern for the preservation of peace in no way means that the USSR should remain indifferent as regards the progressive changes and revolutionary processes occurring in the world. The more so that imperialism bends every effort to reverse them. Communists are convinced opponents not only of the "export of revolution", but also of the export of counterrevolution. They are resolutely and invariably on the side of those who even today have to fight for freedom, independence, who have to repel the onslaught of the aggressor or are threatened by aggression. This stand of the USSR is inseparable from the struggle for a lasting peace on earth waged consistently and undeviatingly by the USSR. It is this aspect of Soviet foreign policy which leaders of many developing countries and spokesmen of the progressive world public emphasise.

Although the abovementioned arguments prove the untenability of the myth about the "Soviet military threat", no matter how it is interpreted, and from which "theoretical" basis, it still seems expedient to examine the "arguments" about the "traditional Russian expansionism".

The advocates of this theory, who include some prominent former representatives of US administration, such as H. Kissinger and Z. Brzezinski, put forth the specific geographical position of the USSR, the mythical "Russian-Soviet messianism", "inclination" of the Russian national character towards aggressive actions as arguments in favour of the "Soviet military threat". The concept of the "school of political realism" provides the "theoretical" foundation of this foreign policy doctrine of American imperialism. "Realists" claim that each nation, due to its geographical position, national character, historical conditions, and relations with other "centres of power" have vital interests which do not depend either on the changes of government or even on the social system. In defining the foreign policy of the Soviet Union they contend that in all times (both in tsarist Russia and under Soviet rule) it was the struggle for the domination and power, for national grandeur. The proponents of this geopolitical explanation of Soviet foreign policy speak about the USSR's particular interest in moving

westward to create along its borders a number of dependent states both to ensure its own security and use their territories and resources in the struggle against Western Europe.

Another tendency and strategic goal of the "Russian Soviet messianism" consists allegedly in the "breakthrough to the warm seas", in order to achieve gradual hegemony in the Middle East, which was allegedly "the craving of tzars before the communists came to power". However, the inventors of the concept of the "Russian-Soviet messianism", "traditional Russian expansionism", while placing in the forefront different "historical" facts and documents, forget, of course, that their geopolitical "wisdom" was from the very beginning an invention of Russia's imperialist competitors, and does not correspond to strict historical truth.

The so-called "will of Peter the Great", a fake document which allegedly determined the main trends of tsarist Russia's foreign policy aspirations, including the notorious "breakthrough to the warm seas", may serve as an example of such inventions used by the present-day bourgeois politology and propaganda. The noble character of Soviet intentions regarding the countries situated on the shores of "warm seas", just like to others which were at that time under the yoke of imperialism, was manifested from the very beginning of the establishment of Soviet power. For example, young Soviet Russia voluntarily renounced all privileges which tsarist Russia had in Iran.

The Soviet Union's policy as regards the developing countries exposes to the full the propaganda myth about the "Soviet military threat". It proceeds from the premise that everyone recognises the legitimate right of the peoples of each country to solve their domestic matters without any outside interference and to participate in international affairs on an equal basis. Every nation should respect the independence, territorial integrity and inviolability of borders of other states, and observe the principle of the renunciation of the use or threat of force. No power should try to pursue a policy of hegemonism and establish "spheres of interests" or "spheres of influence". This fair policy is becoming increasingly understood and supported by the peoples of the newly-free countries, as well as by world public at large.

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INTERNATIONAL

GROWTH OF FEMALE LABOR IN THIRD-WORLD INDUSTRY VIEWED

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 4, Jul-Aug 84 pp 20-21, 37

[Article by Yelena Braghina, candidate of economic sciences: "Women in Industry in Developing Countries"]

[Text]

The growing employment of women in social production, especially in the modern industrial sector, is an important trend of progressive changes in the economy of developing countries in Asia and Africa. This process bears directly on the structure of employment and on changes in demography, and brings about a better social climate. Not long ago the surveys conducted by separate countries as well as by international agencies were concentrated mainly at employment of women in agriculture of newly-free countries but recently the focus began to switch to women in industry as well.

According to the International Labour Organisation, the employment of women in the 1960s and 1970s was rapidly rising, the annual rate of growth being 2.5 per cent in Asia and 1.9 per cent in Africa (see Table 1).

However, these figures do not give a detailed picture of the women's labour resources in developing countries as the estimates of women's em-

ployment and its distribution in branches of the economy vary greatly from country to country and, besides, are often revised by the national statistical boards. Traditionally, women's labour in Asia is largely used in agriculture, while in African countries its share is sizable in trade.

At the 1978 United Nations Industrial Development Organisation (UNIDO) conference on the participation of women in the industrialisation of developing countries, representatives of a number of Asian and African countries pointed out that the data on the employment of women was only approximate for they lacked exact figures of women engaged in small industry and handicraft production.

Higher employment of women is largely complicated by the influence of traditional social institutions banning or frowning on women's work outside the family. But of late tangible shifts have taken place in soci-

Table 1

Employment of women in developing countries¹
(in millions)

	1965	1975	1985*	2000*
All developing countries	305.0	369.0	446.6	617.5
including:				
Africa	37.5	45.7	56.2	82.0
South and Southeast Asia	122.8	151.1	186.2	264.1
* forecast				

¹ Compiled from ILO's Women in Industry in Developing Countries, 1980, p. 14.

al consciousness, and women themselves have changed their attitude towards work outside the home.

In this respect the most profound transformations have been registered in the countries of socialist orientation which are adopting legislation to emancipate women, draw them into social production and get them to be actively engaged in all spheres of public life.

The scope of drawing women into productive work is determined by the general state of the economy, the rate of its growth and especially the growth in the number of jobs. In this respect the importance of industry began to rise only recently for the following reasons. In the majority of Asian and African countries the share of the industrial sector increased from 7.11 per cent in 1960 to 18.25 per cent in 1980. But employment in it was growing slowly. Thus, in 1960, it was 11 per cent, in 1970—13.2 per cent, by the late 1970s—15.4 per cent of all employment in the country, trailing far behind agriculture and services. For these reasons the employment of women by the industrial sector has been making slow headway and mainly at the expense of a few countries. According to UNIDO documents, "the participation of women in the industrial labour force in developing countries was only a very small percentage of the total"².

Industry in developing countries is known to be divided into a narrow modern subsector and a massive traditional one. According to UNIDO figures, in manufacturing, the main branch of industry, over 75 per cent of total employment falls on a subsector embracing the smallest unqualified enterprises and handicraft workshops with five to ten workers and wide use of family labour. It is just this subsector that represents the majority of female workers, often combining their labour in industry with household chores and (or) with field work. The 1978-1979 UNESCO surveys showed that in India, for example, about 49 per cent of those employed in this subsector were women, while in big cities, such as Bombay and Calcutta, the percentage was from 50 to 69. In such cases employment of women is of a major social and economic importance, providing a fuller use of local resources and greater output of consumer goods, including those for export. For example, in Bangladesh a massive level of female labour, about 100,000 people, is found in handicraft working

of jute. There are certain possibilities of increasing women's employment through greater output of arts and crafts items, a traditional sphere of female labour in the countries of Asia and Africa.

Outside the non-organised sector, female workers are hired mainly by the old branches of industry, started under the colonial system and characterised by a low technological level and labour-intensive production—the textile and foodstuffs industries, manufacture of clothes, woodworking, pottery.

A major obstacle to a greater level of women's employment in industry in developing countries, both in the traditional and modern sectors, is constantly growing part-time employment. In towns and cities it reaches 8 to 15 per cent of the able-bodied population, and with women the percentage is much higher. This phenomenon in cities, as distinct from part-time employment in rural areas, is not camouflaged by community and family relationships. Moroccan scholar M. Belgihiti writes that with the fading of the traditional system and of the big family, a woman can no longer count on the support and assistance of relatives to the same degree as before.

Perennial unemployment of male workers leaves the least chance for women to learn a trade and get a job in industry, where payment is higher than in agriculture. As pointed out by the American scholar K. Newland, women's position in the job market could hardly be improved with continuing high unemployment among men.

In spite of mounting difficulties of getting a job in a qualified industry, the 1970s were marked by a certain increase in women's employment in the manufacturing branches (Table 2).

Even though the statistics of women's employment is incomplete, which makes long term comparisons of countries difficult, certain common traits can still be discerned. The main one is a tangible increase of women in industry in countries exporting finished products. At the same time women's employment is hardly rising in countries with a sluggish rate of restructuring the industrial sector, while Sri Lanka even shows a decrease of women's employment.

Women's low level of general education is a major obstacle to their higher employment, particularly at modern enterprises. According to the UNESCO data, as of 1980 there were 814 million illiterate people in the developing countries, 500 million of whom were women. The latter were hard put getting even an elementary

² UNIDO Doc. ID/251, p. 5.

Table 2
Women's employment in the
manufacturing industry³
(in thousands)

	1970-1972	1980-1981
Egypt	85	87
Kenya	11.8	13.1
Hong Kong	281	455
India	478*	592
Singapore	97**	138.6
Sri Lanka	65.6	58.5
Thailand	305	760

* 1976

** 1974

education, much less professional training. In the majority of developing countries the ratio of male to female is three to two in elementary school, four to two in secondary school and eight to two in senior classes of secondary school. As a result, illiteracy among women reaches 80 per cent. UNESCO experts, analysing the specifics of education in developing countries, point out that women lag behind men at all levels of education and they are often virtually excluded from technical and trading schools. India's Committee of Working Women states that female workers have no way of getting higher qualifications and that the majority cannot find a job beyond traditional women's occupation. As a result, says the Committee, small-scale production and handicrafts, along with agriculture, are the main sphere of female labour.

The know-how acquired by women in the non-organised sector of industry is of little avail at plants and factories. In many countries of Asia and Africa women are used to working while sitting on the floor, so it is hard for them to stand a whole shift by the lathe or conveyor belt. Adaptation of women to modern industrial labour is not made any easier by the low living standards of the masses: malnutrition, poor housing, especially in big cities, underdevelopment of communal service infrastructure, lack of recreation facilities. The quickening tempo of life and work at modern enterprises puts greater psychological and physiological strain on women, while their lack of professional training makes adaptation to modern industrial production slow and difficult.

³ *Yearbook of Labour Statistics*, 1972, 1982, pp. 215, 278.

The sum total of negative conditions compels women to stay at the lowest levels of the professional hierarchy. According to surveys in Morocco's industry, in the non-skilled and low-paid labour force women make up 50 per cent in the textile industry, 55 per cent in the paper industry and 80 per cent in pharmaceuticals. In Tanzania's manufacturing industry only four per cent of all working women are engaged in skilled labour. Even in India, where women are provided with relatively good conditions for education, they mainly do unskilled work. This gave reason to Indian sociologist A. Milra to believe that one test for identifying industries low in productivity, wages and technology, is to find out the number of female workers employed.

Women make up the major part of permanent labour reserve, especially in those branches of industry that need unskilled workers. And they are the first to be laid off due to slow business or introduction of new technology and labour organisation. Their chances of finding work in other branches are minimal because of tough competition from men and lack of necessary skills. Women are widely hired for seasonal work in the manufacturing industry, where labour conditions are particularly bad and wages low. For example, in Morocco women account for more than 90 per cent of seasonal workers at sugar refineries. "Women, therefore", states a UNIDO report, "remain a vulnerable segment of the labour force... due to lack of skills and education, lack of job security, and low levels of unionisation in most developing countries".

Mounting migration of female workers from rural areas to cities results in a growing proportion of women in the hired labour force. This is a relatively new process in the developing countries and it is rapidly gaining in scope. As pointed out by Soviet scholar T. S. Pokatayeva, the growing number of women among recent migrants shows "more frequent independent movings of women to cities in connection with a gradual change of their situation and higher chances of finding a job in the city".⁴ But even under urban conditions women can mainly count on a low-paid unskilled job, largely in the non-organised sector, in small handicraft workshops. A UNESCO study, devoted to women's role in the social and economic development of some

⁴ T. S. Pokatayeva, *Developing Countries: Problems of Urbanisation*, Moscow, 1977, p. 80 (in Russian).

in and African countries, emphasizing that women are obliged to remain in crowded non-effective spheres of traditional production or have access only to low-paid sectors of the market economy.

This has a negative influence on the level of women's wages. Though statistics on this question are sketchy and far between, they indicate a continuing gap between the wages of men and women. Thus, the hourly wage for women in the textile industry in Morocco is 14 per cent and in Singapore 22 per cent less than that for men for the same kind of work. Surveys in Singapore's manufacturing industry over the 1966-1979 period showed that the difference in average monthly wages for male and female labour practically did not change for various categories of workers (depending on skills and level of education), while for unskilled workers it noticeably increased. Whereas in 1966 the average monthly pay was 146 Singapore dollars for men and 101 dollars for women, in 1979 it was 348 and 213 dollars respectively. In West Bengal's non-organised urban sector women's pay was 40 to 50 per cent less than men's for the same job. In Tanzania the average monthly wage in the manufacturing industry was 379 shillings for men and 276 for women, in Syria 115 and 79 pounds respectively.

It can be held that an increased supply of women's hired labour brings down labour costs on the whole, and unskilled labour costs in particular, because women in developing countries constitute a weakly organised and highly vulnerable part of the labour force. Says A. Mitra: "In many countries women still constitute a far more subservient reserve pool of labour than men. This is handy for all employers who by using women can cut down on labour costs." The Indian sociologist's opinion that the level of wages in any branch of industry is the inverse of the level of women's employment seems to be well-founded.

And this is one of the reasons why transnational corporations (TNCs) are eager to widely employ women at their enterprises in develop-

ping countries. The last decade is marked by a massive penetration of TNC subsidiaries into such branches of industry in developing countries as electronics and production of food-stuffs, where the technological process makes it possible to use on a massive scale cheap unskilled labour.

In 1980, labour intensive products, with a high component of unskilled labour, accounted for 42.4 per cent of the imports of industrial goods by developed countries of the West from newly-free countries. In 1963 the respective figure was 37 per cent. It can be assumed that cheap female labour, particularly in export-oriented industries of developing countries, is becoming an important factor of cutting down on the cost price of finished products.

Under the impact of scientific and technological progress and due to social and economic factors two interconnected processes are under way in industry of developing countries, which have a bearing on women's employment. As industry is being streamlined by science and technology, higher demands are made on the training of workers. Taking into account the difficulties encountered by women in getting a general education and even more so in learning a trade, their scope of employment in industry is significantly curtailed. At the same time, the mechanisation of many operations, which are reduced to monotonous repeated actions demanding much attention, precision and accuracy, makes it possible to use widely unskilled female labour in assembling and at conveyor belts.

Such factors as growing mass unemployment, poverty and disparity in dividing the national income in the developing countries of Asia and Africa have made it imperative for governments to coordinate the functioning of industry and agriculture, to consolidate the sphere of small production in the structure of industry. Because of the capital-intensive character of modern industry and its limited need for labour, particularly unskilled, small-scale industry, including the non-organised sector, remains one of the main spheres of women's employment in the 1980s.

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INTERNATIONAL

PLANS FOR NEW SOUTH AFRICAN PARLIAMENT ASSAILED

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[Lyudmila Vyalmaa article: "South Africa--The New Constitution: "Racist Reform"]

[Text]

In 1977, B. J. Vorster the then Prime Minister of South Africa announced that, based on the official doctrine and practice of apartheid which provides for the so-called separate existence and development of different ethnic groups within the country, his government planned to replace the single parliament made up entirely of representatives of the white minority with three separate parliaments: for whites (there were some 4.5 million of them in the country in 1983), for coloureds,—the offspring of mixed marriages (2.5 million), and for Indians (about 800,000 descendants of those who were brought here by the British colonialists in the 19th century to work on plantations). Under such a "division of power" the Africans, comprising the absolute majority in the country (22.6 million), did not get any political rights.

The proposal by the then Prime Minister to reform the parliamentary system was less a result of any liberalisation of his views than a reaction to the historical processes gaining strength in the south of the African continent.

In the 1970s the centuries-old rule of Portuguese colonialists collapsed in Southern Africa and new independent states appeared on the map of the continent. The rulers of South Africa were encountering growing pressure from the part of the progressive world public. This was a factor that the Pretoria authorities increasingly had to take into account. In South Africa itself protest mounted against the system of apartheid. It culminated in the Soweto uprising in July 1976, an event of monumental importance in the history of the liberation movement in South Africa. In these conditions the South African authorities were forced to search for forms that could

help them retain the system of apartheid without changing its character fundamentally. The leaders of the ruling party of the white minority, the National Party, in particular B. Vorster, arrived at the conclusion that in the interests of the white population it was best to make concessions in secondary matters by giving the coloureds and Indians the right to administer some affairs of their communities, though not the important ones, than to lose everything, in other words, to lose political power in the country.

As Vorster saw it, each of the three parliaments was to be headed by a separate prime minister with his own cabinet of ministers. The idea was that each of these parliaments would possess legislative power in matters concerning the given group of the population while questions of national stature would remain the sphere of a consultative council of cabinets of ministers presided by the President of South Africa who would have full executive power.

All groups of the population expressed a sharply negative attitude to Vorster's plan and it never got off the ground.

But the political developments in the country continued to call for changes in the national legislation. A government commission was formed under the then Minister of Justice and Internal Affairs A. Schlebusch, which was charged with the task of drawing up a plan of constitutional changes capable of winning certain sections of the non-white population, in particular the coloureds and Indians, over to the side of the whites.

Already late in 1980 a President's Council with a consultative status was created on the Commission's recommen-

dation in place of the Senate (upper house of parliament). After lengthy talks with representatives from the white, coloured and Indian communities the present South African Prime Minister P. Botha personally appointed 54 members of the Council that began to function officially on January 1, 1981. The opposition white party in parliament, the Progressive Federal Party, refused to send its representatives to the President's Council. Prominent political leaders of the coloureds and Indians also refused to join it. The government was forced to call on the services of obscure personalities who were brought into the Council and charged with the task of working out practical recommendations to the Prime Minister concerning changes in the country's Constitution.

Then, in July 1981, P. Botha announced his plan of Constitutional reform.

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM

In accordance with this plan it was intended to replace the existing parliament consisting only of representatives of the white population with a parliament consisting of three chambers: for whites (178 members), coloureds (85 representatives) and Indians (45 deputies). This plan, as we see, again did not provide for the participation of Black Africans in the governing of the country.

It follows from the draft reform that deputies of each of the chambers are to be elected according to a separate list by the white, coloured and Indian population. All three chambers will draft laws concerning only their respective community, while decisions on questions of national importance are to be adopted in all three chambers separately by majority vote. In the event of failure to obtain the consent of all three chambers the president of the country is obliged to submit the given question for consideration to the President's Council. The latter is to consist of 60 members, including 35 elected separately by the chambers of parliament (20 whites, 10 coloureds and 5 Indians) and 25 members appointed by the president personally.

The president of the republic (the opposition calls him the president-dictator) becomes the head of the executive arm in place of a prime minister. He is elected for a seven-year period by an electoral college consisting of 50 whites, 25 coloureds and 13 Indians. The electors are elected separately in the chambers for whites, coloureds and Indians.

Once in parliament the coloureds and Indians will be able to influence the state of affairs in the country to a certain extent but the real power will belong to the president and the majority in the President's Council, that is, as before, to the whites.

The president of the country, according to the draft, heads the cabinet of ministers, appoints its members from among the representatives of the various racial groups (but again with the exception of Africans) and regulates the complex system of joint parliamentary commissions. In addition to this he appoints the council of ministers of each chamber. The chairman of the council most likely will be the leader of the majority party in each chamber. And as the peak of the pyramid of the new laws a special act gives the president the right to veto any bill submitted to him by any of the three chambers of parliament.

It is thus that Botha and the ruling Nationalist Party of South Africa decided to offer the coloureds and Indians some, if limited, participation in the running of the country.

P. BOTHA'S NEW "DEMOCRACY" AND THE AFRICANS

As it has already been noted, the plan of Constitutional changes announced by P. Botha fully excludes from the system of government the country's black inhabitants who comprise more than 70 per cent of the population. Formally the regime of apartheid grants them an opportunity to express their political aspirations but only through the legislative systems of the so-called homelands.¹ The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Christian Heunis, stated that according to legislative norms the African peoples have achieved greater progress than the coloureds and Indians because Africans supposedly have ten tribal homelands which they administer themselves. By creating a fourth chamber of parliament for Africans, the Minister went on, we would overlook the circumstance that no single African nation in South Africa exists and for this reason arguments in favour of setting up the fourth chamber are based on a false premise that supposedly all Africans agree to their interests being represented in a single chamber. We should not automatically use the system that came into being in a society with a relatively homogeneous composition [reference here is made to European countries.—L. V.] and here [in South Africa.—L. V.] not a single known form of democracy could survive, the Minister concluded. That is why the white minority government came up with its own form of "new" South African "democracy".

¹ Homelands, or bantustans, are puppet state formations set up by the South African government and passed off as "independent African states", which, in reality, are under the full control of the South African racists.

But since such is the position of the authorities which profess racism, it is out of the question to speak of Constitutional reforms genuinely directed at uprooting apartheid. All the "reforms" that are now being proposed by the ruling Nationalist Party are actually nothing but an attempt to consolidate the privileged position of the white minority as far as possible, that is, to retain the existing system of apartheid. While providing for the participation of the leaders of the coloureds and Indians in the drafting of legislation, the draft Constitution nevertheless does not guarantee in any way their participation in central executive bodies. On the whole this plan should be qualified as an attempt to create an alliance (though a limited one) of the white racists with the coloureds and Indians, an alliance directed against the black majority of the country's population. The aim of these Constitutional subterfuges is clear: to split the ranks of the opponents of apartheid, to isolate the oppressed black majority in the country from the rest of the South African population and thereby to strengthen the existing regime.

By giving the president virtually unlimited executive power resting on the support of the President's Council in which the majority will be comprised by whites, the draft thus envisages the retention of their domination at all levels of state power.

The three chambers are to be formed on the principle that all deputies will come from the majority party of this or that group of the population. It should be expected therefore that the chamber for whites will consist exclusively of members of the Nationalist Party. This principle appeals also to the Coloured Labour Party (CLP) which, too, has every reason to count on all seats in the chamber for coloureds.

SCANDAL IN ESHOWE

An annual conference of the Coloured Labour Party was held in January 1983 in Eshowe, a small South African town in Natal province. The decision on the party's participation in the new Constitutional system suggested by the Botha government was adopted at that conference by a vote of 291 to 9. Immediately after the voting several long-time and very influential members left the Labour Party while the conference adopted a special resolution which was more of an attempt to whitewash this decision than an expression of approval of it. It was stressed in this CLP resolution that the party "does not view" the new Constitutional proposals as a political answer to the "Constitutional demands of the people", that it reiterates its demand for and belief in the "one-man, one-vote" principle. Nonetheless, the resolution said further, the

party believes that its participation in the tricameral parliament and its standing committees could assist in the future the attainment of the above-mentioned principle and for this reason instructed its leaders to continue the policy of negotiation with the current government.

The CLP's position in respect to the new South African parliament provoked sharp outcry from various sections of the country's population. A part of the coloured community, especially young people, sharply condemned the decision adopted by the CLP Conference in Eshowe. The white Progressive Federal Party which comprises the formal opposition, also condemned the results of the vote though in carefully worded expressions. The Conservative Party (it branched off from the Nationalist Party in February 1982) expressed disapproval of the "haste" with which the CLP accepted the Botha government's proposals to take part in the new parliament. The leader of the Zulus, Chief Minister of the Kwazulu bantustan Gatsha Buthelezi, stated that the CLP's decision raised the question of that party's further presence in the ranks of the South African Black Alliance, an influential organisation of non-white communities in South Africa. In its time, the Chief recalled, the Labour Party was one of the initiators of creating the Black Alliance. Some other African organisations coming out for the development of "black consciousness" have drawn even more rigid conclusions: "The coloured LP has crossed its political Rubicon and nothing shall redeem it and its fellow travellers but their destruction."

What is the explanation of such a sharp reaction to the results of the vote in Eshowe? Why have many people in South Africa assessed it as a political scandal?

According to the draft Constitution in any of the legislative bodies the representatives of the white population will outnumber those of Indians four-to-one and those of coloureds two-to-one. So even together the coloureds and Indians will always be in a minority to the whites. Besides, the plan rules out the possibility of the creation of an alliance between any factions that are in opposition to the government.

In advertising their "Constitutional reform" the South African authorities make a special point of saying that the measures proposed by them supposedly are the only alternative to "violence and revolution". But a different view on this score is held by the other interested sides, that is, the overwhelming majority of the country's population—Africans, coloureds, Indians and the part of the white population which does not give unconditional support to the ruling Nationalist Party. They rightly regard the measures proposed by the government

as an attempt to perpetuate the undivided rule of the white minority and the results of the vote in Eshowe as readiness by the CLP leadership to accept cooperation with the racists, a cooperation markedly resembling a betrayal of interests, first of all the interests of the overwhelming majority of the population—the Africans.

THE TASK OF PATRIOTS: TO FOIL THE PLANS OF THE RACISTS

A struggle to foil the Botha government's intentions is growing in the country since the time the plans of the authorities to change the South African Constitution were announced.

The United Democratic Front was formed in South Africa in January 1983. It consists of students', sports, cultural, church, communal and women's organisations. Among them are the Transvaal Indian Congress (founded in 1894 by Mahatma Gandhi when he lived in South Africa), the Soweto Civic Association, the Witwatersrand Council of Churches, the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference, the Islam Council of South Africa, the Federation of South African Women, the Azanian Student Organisation.

The United Democratic Front called on its member organisations to display "unshakeable conviction in the creation of a non-racial unitary state" and adherence to the need for "unity in struggle" regardless of race, religion or colour. The unifying congress of the United Democratic Front was held late in August 1983 in Cape Town and was attended by 600 delegates representing 400 organisations with a membership of about a million. The congress adopted a declaration, most of the principles of which coincide with the principles of the Freedom Charter—the programme document of the national liberation struggle of the people of South Africa. Three national presidents of the UDF were elected at the congress, one of them being Albertina Sisulu, the wife of Walter Sisulu, an ANC imprisoned leader.

A prominent role in the creation of the UDF was played by Allan Boesak, a coloured priest who was recently elected President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, which has a worldwide membership of 70 million. Allan Boesak is a resolute opponent of Botha's proposed reforms. The opposition white Progressive Federal Party voted against the proposed Constitutional changes because according to its leaders the authors of the draft ignore the interests of the African population.

After the Coloured Labour Party had accepted the government's proposal to take part in the new parliament it was forced to withdraw from the South

African Black Alliance which was set up with the aim of forming a united front of struggle against the government's racist policy and also for conducting campaigns for the creation of a multi-racial state on the basis of universal proportional suffrage. The biggest liberation organisation in the country, the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa, also condemned the Labour Party's intention to take part in the suggested "division of power", stating that the creation of a genuinely democratic non-racial society in the country is possible only through the joint struggle of all oppressed groups of South Africa's population. "The campaign for the rejection and defeat of the enemy's counterrevolutionary Constitutional plans is the task of all patriotic South Africans—Africans, Indians, coloureds, and democratic whites—in addition to our people in the Coloured Community", it was said in a statement by the ANC President Oliver Tambo.

In a special statement on the results of the vote by the Coloured Labour Party in Eshowe the ANC noted that "to elect to join hands with the Botha regime means to choose to become part of the schemes of this regime to entice the so-called Coloured and Indian people out of the camp of democracy and liberation. In signifies a decision to become a junior partner, but a partner nonetheless, among the forces that are committing murder and genocide to perpetuate the system of white minority domination in South Africa... The only way forward, painful as it is, is through united struggle to a genuinely democratic and non-racial South Africa governed by all the people".

After several months of debate on September 9, 1983 the South African parliament adopted the new Constitution providing for the creation of a tricameral parliament for representatives of the white, coloured and Indian population. Before acquiring the force of law the Constitution was approved in the course of a referendum for white voters on November 2, 1983. The first president of South Africa possessing full executive power is expected to be elected by the middle of 1984.

In all probability the new parliament, which, as the racists insist, will become a model of "division of powers", will start functioning by the end of this year. But the introduction of the authoritarian system of rule headed by a president with practically unlimited powers will lead to the establishment in effect of a dictatorial regime within the framework of which the role of the tricameral par-

liament will be reduced to a minimum.

Patriotic South Africans reject the proposed system of "renovating" the regime of apartheid and view the new Constitution of South Africa as an attempt to preserve the white minority's racist rule and perpetuate the discrimination against the majority of the country's population. In connection with the adoption of the Constitution the South Africa Communist Party declared that the rallying of all revolutionary forces, all those who are subjected to exploitation and discrimination in South Africa to the common struggle against the entire system of racism and exploitation is the only road to the liberation of South Africa.

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INTERNATIONAL

VIETNAMESE-LAO-KAMPUCHEAN COOPERATION LAUDED

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[Anatoliy Volodin article under the rubric "Internationalism, Unity, Cooperation": "Indochina--Pooling Efforts towards a Common Goal"]

[Text]

Internationalist unity, fraternal friendship and allround cooperation among the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea are the decisive factors of strengthening the positions of peace, democracy and progress in Southeast Asia.

Life itself and the protracted selfless struggle against colonial oppression and later, after the Indochinese states proclaimed their independence, against the aggression by the imperialist and hegemonic forces, bred the need for close and allround cooperation of the peoples living along the great Mekong River. That struggle gave birth to the tradition of revolutionary friendship and established the reliable principles of equal comradesly relations among fighters united by common goals and tasks.

Communists have always headed the revolutionary union of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. As early as November 1939 the Communist Party of Indochina, which at that time had in its ranks the Communists of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, stressed: "Despite the fact that the imperialists are doing their utmost to disunite us to facilitate their domination by exploiting differences in the historical conditions of our development and culture, the peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos remain connected economically and politically. All of them are enslaved by imperialism, exploited by finance monopolists and are under the same system of suppression by French imperialism. Therefore, our national liberation movements are closely linked among themselves and should without fail rely on each other."

Communists of Indochina are perfectly aware that to strengthen fraternal friendship and close cooperation among the peoples of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea is the internationalist duty of every true patriot. Owing to their close cohesion and the diverse aid and support given by the socialist community, the peoples of Indochina scored a glorious victory in the hard and sanguinary struggle for their freedom and independence, for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of their states.

These historic victories opened up prospects of peaceful constructive work for the Indochinese peoples. They have made major accomplishments in the past few years in their economic, social and cultural development. Inspired by the resolutions of the fraternal parties' congresses, the working people of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea are boosting their agricultural production and tackling successfully the food pro-

blem. A steady rise has been observed in the harvest of rice and other food crops in all the three countries. New irrigation projects are being built in the countryside, and the peasants are striving to raise farming standards. Neglected land is being put under cultivation anew and the virgin land is being upturned.

The working people of Indochina have made good progress in industrial development, in strengthening the public sector in industry and in expanding the production of staple consumer goods. There is no denying the fact that Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea have accomplished a lot in education, training national personnel and developing a modern health protection system.

The new stage of the socio-economic development of the three countries accounts for the largely novel approach to the tasks of the comradely union of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, which has withstood all the historical tests. If during the war years military tasks connected with the need to defend through a joint effort the national independence and the very existence of every one of the fraternal states were of prime importance, along with political tasks, now it is closer cooperation and cohesion in solving economic and cultural problems that are increasingly becoming the order of the day. This cooperation helps them advance successfully in peaceful construction, overcome economic difficulties and develop their material and technical base which was seriously damaged during the war and colonial rule.

The three Indochinese peoples have placed their relations of alliance on a firm legal footing. Vietnam and Laos signed a treaty of friendship and cooperation in July 1977, and another treaty of peace, friendship and cooperation was concluded between Vietnam and the People's Republic of Kampuchea in February 1979. The same year saw the signing of an agreement on cooperation and mutual aid in the economic, cultural and technological fields between Laos and Kampuchea. These documents, a natural result of the evolution of relations among the three countries, formalise the policy of brotherly friendship and extensive cooperation among the Vietnamese, the Lao and the Kampucheans. They fully meet their vital interests and facilitate the building of new society and the defence of revolutionary gains.

The summit meeting of the party leaders and government officials of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea held in February 1983, the first of its kind in history, marked a qualitatively new stage in the further interaction of the Indochinese states. The meeting considered the situation in each of them, made a joint outline of the fundamental principles of relations among the fraternal states and peoples and worked out the guidelines for long-term cooperation and mutual aid in construction and defence. The sides agreed on concerted foreign policy actions: to strengthen peace and the security of their peoples and to turn Southeast Asia into a zone of peace and stability.

The three countries' leaders declared that Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea would promote solidarity and cooperation on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. All problems pertaining to relations among them will be settled through negotiations on the basis of respect for their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and the non-interference in each other's internal affairs, in the spirit of mutual understanding and with due account for the legitimate interests of every country and the interests of these three countries.

The summit meeting was brought about by the entire course of the developments in Indochina and Southeast Asia as a whole. In the past few years, especially after Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea signed the corresponding documents, bipartite and tripartite contacts have grown immeasurably among them. Their cooperation now encompasses practically all spheres of the social and political life in these countries, increasingly affecting the state of affairs in their economies.

The invariable support given to Laos and Kampuchea by Vietnam is a key factor guaranteeing success to the Indochinese nations. Socialist Vietnam's aid has saved the people of Kampuchea from the genocide unleashed by the murderous Pol Pot clique. True to its internationalist duty, Vietnam, which until quite recently had been engaged in the destructive years-long war against the old and new colonialists, is now helping the Kampucheans to do away with the consequences of the Pol Pot terrorist regime and to develop their economy, culture and education.

Vietnam is also giving vast economic aid to neighbouring Laos. It has been helping the country to implement nearly 200 projects in different sectors of the national economy and has trained more than a thousand specialists for Laos.

Along with bilateral economic contacts, multilateral relations are also going from strength to strength. The organisational improvement of cooperation and the further expansion of economic relations among the three countries were given a boost by a resolution of the summit meeting of the Vietnamese, Lao and Kampuchean leaders on setting up in each of these countries an economic cooperation committee with the aim to expand economic links and coordinate their economic development plans.

An important step in working out mutually coordinated programmes of economic, scientific, technological and cultural cooperation was the first meeting of the three countries' ministers heading the economic, scientific, technological and cultural cooperation committees, held in Phnompenh in July 1983. During the meeting a cooperation programme and a protocol on relations among the three committees were signed and also a resolution was passed to set up committees on the three countries' cooperation in culture, science, technology, physical culture and sports.

By way of putting into effect the decisions made, the representatives of the Vietnamese, Lao and Kampuchean planning bodies held a conference in the city of Hochiminh on February 5-6, 1984. An agreement was reached there on coordinating annual and long-term economic development plans on the tripartite or bipartite basis and on organising annual meetings of the heads of the three countries' planning bodies with the aim of working out coordinated measures to make an efficient use of the manpower, land and mineral resources and of the material base of every country so as to speed up economic development and to improve the life of the Vietnamese, the Lao and the Kampuchean peoples.

By today economic links have spread to key economic sectors, such as agriculture, transport, communications, banking and trade. The Indochinese countries are expanding cooperation in health service by coordinating and carrying through a programme of joint measures to prevent epidemics and tropical diseases and to develop an up-to-date health service.

There are necessary objective prerequisites for the further development of extensive economic, scientific and technological contacts and more active relations in culture, education and health care among the Indochinese nations. For example, broad opportunities exist for cooperation in putting to a comprehensive use the Mekong River. This includes the building of a cascade of hydropower plants on this big waterway, unimpeded navigation in its lower reaches from the port of Saigon to the Lao capital of Vientiane, the building of river ports, the reconstruction of ferries, irrigation projects and combatting the salination of soil in the Mekong delta.

Good prospects are also offered by the joint exploration and the rational utilisation of the natural and labour resources, joint planning and perfecting the economic management system. The production of foodstuffs and consumer goods, which are urgent problems facing the three countries, can be solved with greater efficiency through a joint effort. Under consideration are projects envisaging joint building of enterprises processing agricultural and forestry products. In expert opinion, many transportation and power supply problems can be tackled

rationally on the regional level. Production cooperation and specialisation are to go ahead in some industries as well.

In the past few years cooperation among the three countries has been developing not only at the level of governments, ministries and central organisations. Business contacts are also strengthening among twinned provinces. Close links have been established, for example, between the Vietnamese province of Thanghoa and the Lao province of Huaphan, which are bound by an agreement on economic and cultural cooperation. Within its framework the Vietnamese province helped build some economic and cultural projects in Huaphan. Among them are the Muangrong irrigation system, the Soplong hydro-power plant, a hospital, a state-run shop, a higher school and a water supply system in the regional centre of Siengkho. Many Lao workers received their vocational training in Thanghoa.

Working contacts among the three countries' party bodies are also developing on a regular basis, as is exemplified by the conferences of the heads of the propaganda departments of the Central Committees of the fraternal parties of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. The latest conference held in Phnompenh in October 1983 discussed ideological work at the present-day stage and mapped out a programme of cooperation among the ideological bodies of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea in 1984 and 1985. The conferees agreed to coordinate the three countries' efforts in carrying out ideological work among the mass of the people and in training cadre workers and all party members in the spirit of loyalty to the Marxist-Leninist ideals, proletarian internationalism and their national interests.

It has become a tradition to organise twice a year meetings of the Vietnamese, Lao and Kampuchean Foreign Ministers (the first meeting of this kind took place in January 1980), who discuss relations among the three Indochinese countries, exchange opinion on the pending problems of the international situation, first and foremost in Southeast Asia, and work out coordinated diplomatic initiatives to promote peace and stability in the region.

These initiatives include an appeal to the ASEAN countries offering to hold a regional conference of the two groupings—the Indochinese and ASEAN states—to ensure peace, stability, friendship and cooperation in Southeast Asia. Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea voice their readiness to open a dialogue between the Indochinese countries and the ASEAN states without any preliminary conditions. They proposed China to sign bilateral or multilateral treaties on peaceful coexistence. The three Indochinese countries have repeatedly reiterated an understanding reached between Kampuchea and Vietnam on the yearly partial withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteers from Kampuchea. Vietnamese troops will be pulled out completely as soon as the sovereignty of Kampuchea is no longer jeopardised from without.

Experience has shown that regular consultations of the three Indochinese Foreign Ministers are highly instrumental in demonstrating the peace-loving aspirations of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea and in pursuing an active foreign policy in a bid to secure support for their just and peaceful position from the ever growing number of states.

The eighth ministerial conference held in Vientiane on January 1, 1984, confirmed that the Indochinese countries were full of peacefulness and readiness to settle the most complicated problems at a negotiating table. This readiness does not mean, however, that they would relinquish their revolutionary gains under imperialist or hegemonic pressure. The Vietnamese, Lao and Kampuchean leaders have repeatedly stressed that they would counter the inimical machinations by further consolidating their militant ranks. Internationalist friendship and brotherhood among the Vietnamese, the Lao and the Kampuchean peoples is a reliable shield protecting their accomplishments from all encroachments from the outside.

This militant alliance is in no way losing in importance today because the imperialist and hegemonic forces, unwilling to reconcile to their fiasco, persist with their threats, military pressure, economic blockade, political blackmail and

attempts to run the affairs of the Indochinese peoples behind their backs. They are waging never-ending psychological warfare against Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, carrying out large-scale acts of subversion, cobbling together all sorts of counter-revolutionary "alliances", "coalitions" and "governments" and maintaining the renegades and traitors of the Vietnamese, the Lao and the Kampuchean peoples.

Nevertheless, the working people of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea are fearlessly and confidently facing the future. History has shown that they are not to be intimidated, crushed or brought to their knees. They are carrying aloft the banner of peace, friendship and solidarity with the revolutionary forces of our day.

The three Indochinese countries are extensively cooperating with the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, working to strengthen the socialist community and supporting the national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America and the struggle of the world working class for its rights. They are developing cooperation with the non-aligned countries in opposing imperialism and colonialism.

On more than one occasion the leaders of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea have expressed on behalf of the Indochinese nations gratitude to the Soviet Union for its support and invaluable aid in their just struggle. As for the USSR, it has invariably pursued the policy of friendship and cooperation with the Indochinese working people at all the stages of the national liberation movement by the Vietnamese, the Lao and the Kampuchean peoples. The Soviet Union has always viewed equal and comradely relations with Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea as a major contribution to the general struggle of nations for peace and stability in Southeast Asia. "The Soviet Union's solidarity with the three Indochinese states reflects the community of the lofty ideals of socialism and our resolve to struggle jointly against imperialism and for peace, security and social progress", the Soviet leaders said in their telegram to Le Duan, Kaysone Phomvihane and Heng Samrin who attended the conference of the Vietnamese, Lao and Kampuchean leaders in February 1983.

The USSR is helping the Vietnamese, the Lao and the Kampuchean peoples a lot in their socio-economic development. More than 200 up-to-date economic projects have been built in Vietnam with Soviet technical aid. The long-term programme of economic, scientific and technological cooperation between the USSR and Vietnam, adopted in 1983, envisages the further considerable expansion and qualitative improvement of our economic interaction. The Soviet Union is helping Laos in building industrial enterprises, roads, bridges, educational establishments and hospitals. The USSR is also rendering economic aid to the People's Republic of Kampuchea, supplying it with foodstuffs, medicines and transportation means and helping to rebuild old hospitals, schools and agricultural projects and to build new ones. The USSR is also helping the Indochinese nations train their national personnel and develop modern science and technology.

The unswerving policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state aimed at strengthening goodneighbourly relations and cooperation on the Asian continent and turning Southeast Asia into a zone of peace and stability was reiterated during a meeting in Moscow between Konstantin Chernenko, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Chyong Tin, Member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam and Chairman of the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, held on February 15, 1984.

The Soviet Union is consistently supporting the constructive policy pursued by the Indochinese nations to create the atmosphere of fruitful cooperation and goodneighbourliness with all the Southeast Asian states, to ease tensions in the region, establish goodneighbourly relations between the Indochinese countries and the ASEAN states and to normalise relations between Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, on the one hand, and China, on the other, on the principles of peaceful coexistence.

Objective analysis shows that, despite attempts by the imperialist, hegemonic and other reactionary forces to undermine the unity of the Vietnamese, the Lao and the Kampuchean peoples and in this way hinder or even preclude their advance towards national rebirth and social progress, the fraternal Indochinese countries are successfully eliminating the onerous consequences of the bloody wars they had lived through. Their friendship and extensive cooperation are gaining in strength and viability and ever more common elements emerge in their economies, policies and social life. The Soviet people feel complete solidarity with the just aims of the struggle waged by the Indochinese peoples. Loyal to the principles of proletarian internationalism, they will continue siding firmly and consistently with Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. ■

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INTERNATIONAL

JUBILEE OF TANGANYIKA-ZANZIBAR MERGER NOTED

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 4, Jul-Aug 84 pp 39-40

[Article by Vera Pavlova, candidate of economic sciences, under the rubric "The 20th Anniversary of the Republic of Tanzania": "Unity for the Sake of Progress"]

[Text]

On April 26, 1964 Tanganyika and Zanzibar merged to form a new African state, the United Republic of Tanzania. This event has deep historical roots. In their time the colonialists forcefully divided Tanganyika and Zanzibar. This division, however, did not prevent the peoples of the two countries from waging jointly a national liberation struggle, headed by two friendly parties: TANU in Tanganyika and Afro-Shirazi in Zanzibar. The restoration of historical justice was speeded up by the triumph of the January 12, 1964 anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution in newly-free Zanzibar. The British ruling elite, troubled by the success of the Zanzibar revolution, tried in every way to isolate the island from the African continent. The young republic with a population of some 360,000 could hardly withstand the imperialist threat.

The decision to unite was an important step aimed at defending the gains of the revolution and at eliminating the vestiges of colonialism in Eastern Africa. It was also the first step towards African unity, the first experience of state integration in the continent. President Julius Nyerere said: "This action of ours showed that unity in Africa is no utopia, that it can become a reality".

Tanzania remains hitherto the sole example of a merger between two sovereign African states. For this reason it has been in the focus of attention of the African public. The question arises: What are the economic and political advantages of this unity and is it at all expedient?

"Observers expected", the French *Monde Diplomatique* magazine wrote, "this union based, at first glance, on purely time-serving considerations, was to collapse. The political ideas of its leaders, the economic patterns, difference in the size of territory and the size of population seemed enough to pit the continental part of the union to the island. Nevertheless, it has not disintegrated and is slowly but steadily gaining in strength".

The first action to promote the union was the adoption of the July 1965 provisional constitution which legalised federation in Tanzania. The federation was based on the principle of voluntary unity and equality of both parts in governing the state. The competence of the federation spreads to relations with other countries, defence problems, transport and communications, money circulation, higher education, etc. Zanzibar retains autonomy in tackling problems of internal policy, among them economic and financial,

and certain independence in mapping out and concerted implementation of foreign policy actions. In 1967, Tanzania set out on socialist orientation.

The democratic principles underly the federation allow the two nations to build a new society in conformity with the conditions obtaining in each part of the country. At the same time the union makes it possible for experience to be exchanged and for joint efforts to be conducted for achieving the common goal.

The transfer of a socially and economically backward country onto a socialist footing involves a long and complicated process and is impossible without first laying a solid material, social and political foundation. Such a work is under way in both parts of Tanzania. The socio-economic programme set forth by their governments provides for the development of the state and cooperative sectors in industry and agriculture, introduction of state control over foreign and domestic trade, the activity of local and foreign capital, and the planning of the economy. The chief principle in the economy is reliance on national resources and the use of foreign aid in conformity with national interests.

The state holds the leading positions in the economy. On the mainland priority is given to the development of branches which produce prime necessities, such as textiles, footwear, foodstuffs, building materials, utensils, and others. The light, food and wood-working industries and the production of building materials have been started in Zanzibar. As many as 43 major industrial projects have been commissioned in the continental part of Tanzania since 1977 and another 28 projects are under construction. In addition, new factories and plants are cropping up. Five of them are nearing completion, a coconut oil plant being the biggest among them.

Peasants make up 90 per cent of Tanzania's population, and the improvement of their well-being is a paramount task of the state policy. One of the steps in this direction was the creation of villages, ujamaa. Though many observers doubt their economic efficiency, nevertheless the bulk of the rural population is now provided with drinking water, and receives medical aid. There are shops and schools in the villages. Small-size industrial enterprises are being created throughout the country since 1973 to provide peasants with industrial goods. More than 900 such enterprises have been built in the past five years alone, with their total number close to five thousand.

Complex measures are being taken to make the country self-sufficient in staple foodstuffs, most of which are now imported. They include irrigation projects, the construction of storehouses, higher purchase prices, increased cultivation of drought resistant crops. Diversification of agricultural production is under way in Zanzibar, and areas sown with rice, sugarcane, maize, bananas and vegetables are growing. Preference is given to increased production of clove, the export of which brings in 80 per cent of Zanzibar's foreign currency. To encourage the peasants to grow clove, the government made its export a state monopoly and introduced fixed purchase prices.

Tanzania is known as a country which has scored tangible success in the social sphere. The French *Le Monde* wrote: "There is no doubt that Tanzanian society is one of the most just in the world." And this is not fortuitous. Among the countries with the lowest per capita income there is but a few where life expectancy grew by ten years under independence, where famine and poverty have been eliminated, where everyone has access to medical care, where all the children can go to school and nearly three quarters of the adult population can read and write, where striking social and property contrasts have been eliminated.

The task of training national personnel is being solved successfully. Today ninety per cent of specialists of the upper echelon are Tanzanians. The state spends 10.6 per cent of its annual budget for the needs of education.

Non-capitalist trends are penetrating more deeply into various spheres of Tanzanian life, with progressive changes in the state-political system being the most important of them. The role of representative bodies is growing, and the same goes for that of local governmental bodies. Jurisdiction is being improved. All this testifies to the fact that democratic principles are gaining momentum in the country, and social and political life is becoming more active. The authority of the ruling Revolutionary Party (Chama Cha Mapinduzi), whose creation was of significance in consolidating the Tanganyika-Zanzibar union, is constantly growing. (Prior to 1977 there were two parties, TANU and Afro-Shirazi which, to a certain extent, hampered the elimination of regionalism as well as the strengthening of the state).

The permanent Constitution adopted in 1977 formalises the state power system, and spells out the authority of the federal government and the procedure for electing parliament members and for appointments to highest posts, compulsory throughout the country.

Further integration of the two parts of the republic does not infringe upon the sovereignty of each of them. On the contrary, steps have been taken to guarantee it legally, which is evidenced, in particular, by the Zanzibar Constitution approved in October 1979. The Constitution envisages the setting up of a new governmental body, the Council of Representatives, a new court system and a standing committee for planning.

Economic ties between the continental and insular Tanzania are gaining momentum. The needs of both parts are increasingly taken into consideration when new enterprises and infrastructure facilities are being built. Such cooperation will be further stimulated and improved by the 20-year development plan adopted in 1981.

The sweeping democratic transformations and the radical socio-economic reforms in the interests of the masses are not being implemented without problems. The country is in dire need of material and financial resources, with mounting debts to Western banks and worsening economic difficulties. High oil prices, drought, unfavourable terms of trade with capitalist countries, and the collapse of the East African Community are but a few factors responsible for Tanzania's poor economic condition.

In 1982 a programme was drawn up for changing the country's economic structure. It envisages boost in production, higher labour productivity, the rational use of currency and better management in the public sector. The development of agriculture was proclaimed the number one task. "We must not ignore the agrarian sector any longer", said Julius Nyerere at the Second Congress of the Party in October 1982. "We must concentrate on agriculture in planning our economy." The Congress analysed the reasons for the economic difficulties thoroughly and outlined the ways for eliminating them. It was emphasised that the obtaining situation in no way hinges on the policy of socialist orientation, which the Party was intent to pursue in future, too.

Tanzania maintains diversified ties with the socialist states and receives from them substantial assistance and support. Thus, the country successfully cooperates with the Soviet Union in the fields of economics, science and culture, a part of this cooperation being the presence in the country of Soviet physicians, teachers and engineers. The two countries hold identical views on cardinal international issues.

Loyal to the principles of non-alignment, positive neutrality, African unity and peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, Tanzania, along with all progressive forces on earth, fights for peace, against imperialism, neocolonialism and racism.

INTERNATIONAL

VISITING FILIPINO INTERVIEWED ON PEACE STRUGGLE

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 4, Jul-Aug 84 pp 42-43

[Interview by journal correspondent N. Rusanov with Emilio A. de Peralta, president of the Philippine Peace and Solidarity Council, during a visit to the Soviet Union under the rubric "Our Rostrum": "Joining Ranks and Acting Together"]

[Text] *How is the movement of peace and solidarity developing in the Philippines?*

The Philippine Peace and Solidarity Council (PPSC) was formed comparatively recently, in August 1983. This does not mean, however, that earlier the Filipinos took no part in the struggle for peace, equality and social progress. The entire history of the Philippines, beginning with the Spanish colonisation, is the history of struggle for national independence and national sovereignty. Today the Philippine people are concentrating their efforts on the struggle against US imperialism and economic expansion of international monopolies. This struggle was guided by the two organisations: the Philippine Peace Council and the Philippine Committee for Development, Peace and Solidarity. Such a situation resulted in a duplication of methods and measures, thereby undermining the efficiency of their activities. This is why a decision was taken to unite them into a single organisation under the name of the Philippine Peace and Solidarity Council. The charter of the PPSC declares that the organisation regards the "unification of all forces in the struggle for preserving peace, and for social development" as the major task. That is why a flying dove—the symbol of peace—became the emblem of the PPSC.

Last year alone the PPSC held a number of get-togethers, symposia and conferences. One of them, which took place under the slogan "For Asia Without Nuclear Weapons", was attended by about 500 delegates from many

countries, including the Soviet Union. The participants in the Conference, however, did not confine themselves to discussing only one problem. The Conference laid bare the aggressive policy of US imperialism in Grenada, Nicaragua, El Salvador and Lebanon. The resolution of this forum stresses that US armed aggression against independent Grenada has demonstrated to the whole world that US imperialism will not stop at using military force to impose its ideology on sovereign states, and subjugate other countries.

There are other public organisations in the Philippines which actively champion peace, among them the Anti-Base Coalition whose name clearly shows the chief purpose of the movement, which is the struggle against US military bases in our country. I mentioned this organisation among the peace champions because it is US imperialism, its bases on our land, and its economic policy that are the source of the difficulties experienced by the Filipinos today. The struggle for eliminating US bases, waged by members of the Anti-Base Coalition, is part and parcel of our struggle to preserve peace.

Among the active peace fighters, the Union of Civilian Rights can be mentioned. Since its formation in 1939, it has worked under the slogan "The Philippines for the Filipinos", struggling against the diktat of US capital and for an independent development of the republic.

What is the difference between the PPSC and those organisations?

Most members of the Philippine

Peace and Solidarity Council come from the working strata of Philippine society, and this is a distinctive feature. Without reliance on the broad masses, any movement would be dead. I believe that workers and peasants, to a much greater degree than other strata, realise the importance of peace and should march in the vanguard of the struggle for its attainment and preservation. This is why among our principal tasks at the current stage are the setting up of branches in all districts of the republic, the involvement of broad popular masses into active work, and the explanation of the importance of the struggle for peace. This year, in particular, we are planning to open PPSC branches on several small islands.

Of course, quite a few representatives of other social strata, for example, students, teachers, and clergymen take part in our movement. But the toiling people—workers and peasants—are the leading force of the PPSC.

The United States continues to whip up international tension, seeking to win military superiority over the Soviet Union. The USSR is compelled to adopt specific measures directed at ensuring its security and the security of its allies. However, the Soviet Union remains an advocate of the principled line towards halting the arms race, primarily nuclear arms, and reducing and ultimately eliminating completely the threat of a nuclear war. It will continue to make every effort to attain these lofty goals. What is your viewpoint on the subject?

Regrettably, the Philippine public is deprived of the opportunity to get acquainted with the Soviet policy on this problem. Moreover, certain forces went out of their way to describe the deployment of US cruise missiles and Pershings-2 in Western Europe as a kind of a response to the allegedly existing "Soviet military threat". However, those who know the gist of the matter and the history of the Soviet-US negotiations on medium-range missiles in Europe, are well aware that it is not the USSR that is striving towards military superiority. While the US President again showed to the whole world that he disregards the wish of the peoples to live in peace, the Soviet leader demonstrated that the policy pursued by the USSR is a policy of peace. Nobody should be surprised that I speak in detail about European affairs, about the problems of a continent which is thousands of miles away from the Philippines. There is no mistake here, inasmuch as these matters bear directly on our interests as well. Today, when immense amounts of nuclear weapons have been stockpiled in the world,

when our planet is a powder keg which may explode from a tiny spark, there can be no illusions that countries situated far away from Europe will survive. This is a basic error. If a nuclear conflagration starts, it will turn into ashes everything living in Europe, America, Africa and Asia.

It is particularly dangerous for those countries that have bases with US nuclear weapons on their territories as for example the Philippines, because the presence of nuclear weapons may become the first reason for a retaliatory strike. This is specified in Soviet statements, and that is why met with immense understanding and support by the peoples throughout the world. It should be pointed out, at the same time, that if positive shifts towards normalising the situation and certain agreements on nuclear weapons can be achieved in Europe, this would positively affect the situation in Asia, contributing to the improvement of the conditions in our region.

There are hardly any more colonies on our planet today. However, many peoples who gained political independence have encountered the problem of overcoming economic dependence on the former metropolitan countries. How do you assess the situation in this respect in the Philippines?

The Philippine people fought against the US colonialists for many decades, and on July 4, 1946, the independence of the country was proclaimed. However, US imperialism, making use of the weakness of the young republic, forced the Philippine government to sign a number of unequal treaties, in particular the agreement on the bases. The two biggest US military bases outside the United States are in the Philippines—Subic Bay and Clarkfield. That was the beginning of a "new" period in relations between the USA and the Philippines.

American and international monopolies and banks launched vigorous activities in our country. While granting credits to the young republic, they were concerned, first and foremost, with their own benefit. The terms of the "aid" were aimed at making the Philippine economy completely dependent on foreign capital, turning the young republic into an appendage of the international monopolies. Suffice it to say that today the foreign debt of our country amounts to about \$25 billion. The Philippine government has not enough money even to pay the interest on the "aid" loans. It is only natural that this adversely affects the material conditions of the working people, further aggravating the economic situation.

In a bid to make two ends meet, the Philippine government is forced to take new loans from Western banks on even more rigid terms than before. Now another loan is being discussed, and US banks will grant it if we devalue the Philippine national currency, further expand the rights of American capital in the economy of the Philippines, and so on. There is no semblance of equality in the trade relations between the USA and the Philippines. Here, too, the American side uses its power to make the Philippines adopt its terms.

However, the Philippine people are unwilling to reconcile themselves with this situation and ever more frequently begin struggling against the economic diktat of the international monopolies.

Philippine-Soviet economic and trade relations are taking shape in quite a different manner, though not large, in volume. Our countries act as truly equal partners. The Soviet Union supplies us with machinery, machine tools, and fertilizer. In its turn, the Philippines sells to the USSR its traditional export commodities, copra and coconut oil. I recollect the following story. Several years ago, when the Philippines had a bumper crop of sugar cane, US monopolies declared that the market situation was unfavourable and sought to reduce the procurement prices of sugar. These actions by the US imperialists were fraught with ruining thousands upon thousands of Philippine peasants. But they were full of joy when they learned that the Soviet Union bought much more sugar than was provided for by the agreement. The people said: "It was the Soviet Union that helped us." *What is, in your opinion, the influence exerted by the arms race on the economies of the developing countries?*

Today there is hardly anyone who would deny that the arms race is hampering successful economic development. But its effect on the situation in the developing countries is especially adverse. Scholars have more than once cited figures illustrating the perfidious influence of the arms race on the economies of the young states, which demonstrates that many of the problems we are faced with today

could long be resolved successfully. However, US imperialists not only actively whip up the arms race, but also seek to enlist in it other states, including developing countries. The resources of the young states, limited as they are, are becoming even more restricted by the need to bear the burden of expenditures to form and maintain big armies and purchase armaments. Claiming that the Soviet Union is "threatening" the "free" world, bourgeois propaganda not only distorts the Soviet peaceloving policy, but also tries to convince the peoples of their respective countries of the need for a further increase of armaments. The USA supplies developing countries with tremendous amounts of weapons.

Ever more Filipinos are coming to realise it with every passing day. Here is an example. At a meeting organised by the PPSC in a small town I was asked: "Why are you criticising the United States without criticising the Soviet Union?" But I had no time to answer this question because a young worker who stood nearby said he would like to answer it. "You just look which country has military bases on the Philippines? It is the USA. Are there Soviet bases on our territory? Whose banks, like spiders, are sucking our economy dry? Whose monopolies enjoy privileges on Philippine soil? There is the answer to your question", the man concluded.

How are the ties between the PPSC and the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee developing?

The PPSC maintains contacts with the Solidarity and Peace Committees in many states, including the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee. Soviet delegations visit our country and PPSC members go to the USSR to get acquainted with the experience of Soviet public organisations. We regard the USSR as an example to be followed in organising the struggle for peace, and for averting a nuclear war. At the same time, we strive to meet the growing interest of the Filipinos in your country, so that as many people as possible learn the truth about the achievements of Soviet people and the peaceloving foreign policy pursued by the Soviet Union.

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INDIAN HINDU COMMUNAL 'CHAUVINISM' ASSAILED

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[Article by Albert Bel'skiy, candidate of historical sciences, under the rubric "Countries, Peoples, Times": "Dangerous Weapon of Indian Reactionaries"]

[Text]

Of late in India there has been an intensive activation of different reactionary groups, parties and organisations. Making use of the discontent of the broad masses of the working people over their hard socio-economic conditions, their indignation linked with different kinds of discrimination and privileges based on castes, "untouchableness", religion, nationality, language, tribal affiliation, regional economic disproportions and so on, they provoke numerous intercaste, religious-communal clashes, whip up national strife and encourage separatist passions and moods in every possible way. Speaking early in February 1983 in the town of Mirut, which had been the site of a series of sanguinary anti-Muslim massacres staged by the forces of Hindu communalism,¹ Prime Minister Indira Gandhi emphasised that the forces of Indian reactionaries are bending every effort to halt, by hook or by crook, the socio-economic progress of the country.

Linguistic chauvinism has become active in many Indian states in recent years. It is expressed, first and foremost, in demanding broader business activities by the indigenous population of a given state by "children of their land" [the majority of states in India are based on linguistic principle.—A. B.]. For example, in Bombay, Shiva Sena, a reactionary chauvinistic organisation, insists on expelling from the city all who do not speak Marathi in order to provide jobs and housing for the local youth. Having proclaimed the slogan "Down with the Aliens!", the chauvinistic elements in Assam resort to total violence as regards all Bengalis, Muslims, Nepalis and other non-Assamese living now in that state. Similar movements are under way in West Bengal and in the six northeastern states based on tribal foundations: Nagaland, Mizoram, Manipur, Tripura, Meghalaya and Arunachal Pradesh.

A highly explosive situation has taken shape in Punjab. In this state, which borders on Pakistan, the communalist elements from the community of Sikhs have intensified the struggle for setting up an independent Sikh state—"Khalistan". The chauvinistic propaganda campaign they launched is accompanied by bomb explosions, assassinations and other

¹ Communalism in India means using religion (whether it is Hinduism, Islam, Sikhism, Christianity, and so on), and also religious affiliation of different groups of the population to meet reactionary political ends.

acts of violence. The open religious-chauvinistic stand taken by the Sikh extremists instigates greater activity of the Hindu communalists, who proclaim such slogans as "to strengthen the Hindu unity", "to pay the Sikhs in the same coin", and so on. Apart from such well-known Hindu religious-communal organisations as Rashtriya Swayam Sevan Sangh and Bharatiya Janata Party, other Hindu organisations, including Vishwa Hindu Parishad, Rashtriya Suraksha Samiti and some others also began taking part in the propaganda of communalist appeals and catchwords and the collection of money for purchasing "armaments for self-defence".

It is highly indicative that reactionary, chauvinistic and separatist forces operating in India today are hostile to each other but, whipping up sanguinary clashes among the working people, they are at one in their action against anti-feudal and anti-imperialist forces, i. e., they are all against democracy and socialism, oppose land reforms and zealously back "free enterprise". The data exposing sinister designs of the CIA directed to destabilising the political situation in India with the aim of splitting the country into small "states" inimical to each other, which were made public of late, caused indignation in the Indian political and public quarters.

Representatives of democratic, progressive circles of the Indian public hold that the forces of the religious-communal reactionaries which allegedly defend the interests of the Hindu, Muslim, Sikh and other communities are most dangerous to the national unity and territorial integrity of India, to the basic secularist and democratic foundations of its state structure, and to its successful march along the road of social progress. Most dangerous, from the viewpoint of Indian democrats, are the ideological and political activities of the groups and organisations acting on behalf of the Hindu community, which holds a majority in the country.² K. F. Rustamjee, the former commander of the Indian frontier troops, wrote in *Seminar* monthly (No. 1, 1983) that like natural calamities and the complication of the international situation, communalism is the gravest danger the country encountered last year. If India reconciles itself in this or that way, he went on, with the fanaticist religious groupings, then the road will be opened for Hindu revivalism and violence which, like the waters of the Brahmaputra River, would wash away all signs of civilised life in India.

The emergence and consolidation of ideology and policy of communal separatism in the Hindustan Peninsula was predetermined by a number of specifics of its historical development including the existence of several religious communities, the uneven nature of the process of the formation of nations in various regions of the subcontinent, the reappraisal of the role and place of religion in the public life of the country, which occurred in the course of the bourgeois reformation of Hinduism (and later the Islam as well). This resulted in the identification of religious and national consciousness among the followers of various religions. The selfish interests of the propertied social strata and classes played an important part in the emergence of the religious-communal movements. Their most far-sighted representatives were well aware that if a ricksha-Hindu or rural poor Muslim or worker Sikh come to understand the self-evident fact that, irrespective of their religious beliefs, they have much more in common in the social, cultural and other aspects than with the owners of land, industrial enterprises and other means of production, this may have fatal consequences for all propertied and exploiter classes.

² According to the 1971 census in India, there were 840 Hindus, 102 Muslims, 24 Christians, 18 Sikhs, 8 Buddhists and 5 Jainists per each 1,000 people of its population. At that time in India there were 336 million Hindus; about 50 million Muslims, and almost 11 million Christians.

However it was the perfidious "divide and rule" policy that was persistently pursued in India by the British colonial authorities that played the predominant part in the emergence and development of different forms of religious-communal consciousness and the appearance of communalist organisations in India. According to Indian historians, during the first half of the 19th century the relations between Hindus and Muslims in India were marked by religious tolerance and were rarely worsened by differences and clashes. However, since the mid-19th century, the British colonial administration began to deliberately provoke and encourage Hindu-Muslim strife. In a bid to provide an ideological substantiation to that policy British Indologists put forward and developed the following interpretation of the history of India, according to which it was subdivided into the three basic periods: "Hindu" which was depicted as some "golden age", "Muslim" which was described most gloomily, and the "British" which was shown, as a rule, in light of the notorious theory of the "civilisation mission" of the Europeans in the countries they had colonised.

The Law of the Rule of India, passed by the British colonial administration in 1919, had especially pernicious consequences for the development of the Hindu-Muslim relations. Even the colonial authorities had to admit this. The official government account for 1926-1927 noted that the tensions in the Hindu-Muslim relations mounted as a result of the reforms which faced India with a number of problems that were to be solved in connection with the achievement of self-government, thereby stimulating a struggle for power and posts, i. e., for control over the governmental machinery in the future.

Indeed, the reactionary leaders of the Muslim League began voicing demands that special privileges and advantages be granted to Muslims in the legislative bodies and in the government machinery, whereas the Hindu chauvinists from the Hindu Mahasabha Party launched a campaign in defence of the "interests and rights" of Hindus from the "ungrounded encroachments" of the Muslims. Broad masses of Hindus and Muslims had practically nothing to do with such disputes but Jawaharlal Nehru once pointed out that those narrow political demands, which could be of benefit at best to a limited number of representatives of the upper middle classes and which often created obstacles on the road towards national unity and progress, were dressed in the attire of religious passion to cover their primitive nature. The fact that in some areas Hindus made up the propertied class and the Muslim mainly belonged to the poor, while in other areas it were Muslims who presented the propertied class, was exploited by the communal leaders to attract large sections of the population. This enabled the leaders of the religious-communal parties and organisations to make use of the socio-class contradictions to whip up inter-communal hostility.

Right after the adoption of the Law of the Rule of India by the British colonialists, the unity between Hindus and Muslims which took shape during the mass anti-imperialist movement of 1918-1922 and was expressed in cooperation between the Indian National Congress and the Khalifat Committee gave way to a new wave of religious-communal animosity and strife. The colonial authorities immediately took advantage of the collapse of the Hindu-Muslim unity and, through their local agents, began provoking sanguinary conflicts between religious communities.

In the conditions of a sharp aggravation of the religious-communal violence and assassinations another Hindu chauvinistic organisation Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh (RSS) was set up in 1925. Out of a small group of his followers K. B. Hedgevar, its founder, managed rather quickly to form a well-disciplined and numerous organisation—in 1938 the RSS included 40,000 members, while in 1940 the number was already 100,000. As their main task

the leaders of the new Hindu organisation declared "revival of the spiritual values of Hinduism", "consolidation of unity, organisation and power of the Hindu nation" and "restoration of the ancient glory of Akhand Bharat", i. e., "the great India".

Proceeding from the theory of a "united Hindu nation", developed by the leaders of Hindu Mahasabha back in the 1920s, which allegedly existed in India since time immemorial, the leaders of the RSSS began working out the ideology of the modern Hindu communalism, which was branded "genuine nationalism". Golwalkar, who had succeeded Hedgevar as the supreme leader ("sarsanghchalak") of the RSSS, wrote: "Here, in Hindustan the Hindu race with its Hindu religion, Hindu culture and Hindu language forms the Hindu nation". "We Hindus," he wrote, "have not come to this country from somewhere but have always been children of this holy land... Here we have created our incomparable Vedas, elaborated our philosophy of Absolute which is the supreme achievement of Human mind, and created our sciences, arts and crafts."

Golwalkar even stated that the leaders of the Indian national liberation movement betrayed the interests of India because they ignored the "self-evident and indisputable fact that only Hindus are the nation in Bharat." According to Golwalkar, the main error of those leaders was that they were trying to "gain freedom by constitutional methods" instead of stimulating the "national self-consciousness of Hindus" and were striving towards the restoration of the ancient glory of the "Hindu nation". In conclusion he wrote that "only those people are genuine nationalists and patriots who are seeking to glorify the Hindu race and nation sparing no effort to attain this goal". As for all non-Hindus living in India, Golwalkar planned the following destiny for them: "They will have no place in the national life, unless they abandon everything that distinguishes them from the Hindus and merge completely with the Hindu national race".

Having declared the elimination of religious minorities in India and the establishment of a theocratic Hindu state ("Hindu Rajya") as their ultimate goal, the RSSS leaders did not confine themselves to the elaboration of the theoretical foundations of their political philosophy but also did all within their power to organise and provoke anti-Muslim pogroms. Jawaharlal Nehru, an outstanding leader of the Indian national liberation movement, consistently and repeatedly warned that the alliance between religion and politics acting in the image of communalism is the most dangerous alliance which will give rise to extremely serious consequences. He described the Hindu communalism as an "Indian variety of fascism".

Subsequent developments in India convincingly confirmed the prediction of the great champion of secularism and democracy. As is known during the very first days after the proclamation of India's political independence (August 15, 1947) the country was rocked by major clashes between Hindus and Muslims stemming from the division of Hindustan into the two states—India and Pakistan—carried out by the colonial authorities along religious lines. Mahatma Gandhi, who resolutely favoured an immediate discontinuation of bloody inter-communal clashes, was killed on January 30, 1948 by Nathuram Godse, a Hindu fanatic who was once a member of the RSSS and even a proxy of K. B. Hedgevar.

The assassination of the "father of the Indian nation" caused wrath and indignation in the hearts of the ordinary people of India, and the government was compelled to ban the activities of the RSSS, and many of its leaders and rank-and-file members were imprisoned. In a bid to lift the ban, its leaders reassured the authorities that their organisation was "free from any political ambitions" and made a promise, recorded in the "Constitution of the RSSS", that in the future it would not take part in the political life.

Of course, they had no intention in the least to observe their commitment. Two years later, just on the eve of the first universal election to the central Indian Parliament (1952), they founded the Bharatiya Jan Sangh (BJS) Party, whose aim was to uphold the interests of the Hindu communalism on the political arena of India. Right after the emergence of the BJS (1951), the trade union organisation Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh, the youth Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad, the women's and other organisations associated with it were set up.

Simultaneously with the stepping up of the political activities, the leaders of the RSS and the BJS expanded the scope of their ideological and propaganda work. Playing up the hard material conditions of the broad Indian masses, using conservative force of the ideological traditions and some specifics of the social psychology of the inhabitants of India, they deliberately channelled the growing feeling of social protest towards religious-communal animosity and hatred. When someone dared call the RSS and the BJS communalist organisations, their leaders, as K. K. Gangadharan wrote in his book *Sociology of Revivalism* (1970), did their utmost to refute the statement. They declared that their organisations were purely national and were inspired exclusively by national ideas and interests.

Meanwhile anyone who tries thoroughly to analyse the statements by RSS leaders who are behind the BJS and supported it in every way, will easily find out that even nationalism they interpret from the positions of communalism. In accordance with their interpretation only Hindus can be called "the children of this land", and only they are citizens of India. They use this thesis to condemn the Constitution of the country based on the principle of equal respect of all religions. According to Golwalkar, the immediate result of the national movement was that Hindus suffered a defeat from Muslims in 1947, i.e., for him the year of 1947 was not the year of the great victory won by the Indian liberation movement, but the year of the latter's setback. Citing the words of M. K. Gandhi that there can be no independence without Hindu-Muslim unity, Golwalkar contended that Gandhi had thus committed the greatest sin, having killed the vitality of the great and ancient people.

The leaders of the RSS do not confine themselves to the insistent advocating of their poisonous religious and chauvinistic concepts and designs. They have been carrying out rabid propaganda of social obscurantism, seeking to prove in every possible way the need for preserving and restoring in India social orders and traditions which have long become obsolete. For example, they are zealous advocates of the perpetuation of the caste system. "A developed society," says Golwalkar, "creates a multitude of functional groups for better functioning. Our ancient social order defined duties for each group, and this ensures for each of them and every individual a gradual approach to God. I believe that the true *dharma* [the public calling and duty of man.—A. B.] of an individual consists in discharging his duties whatever they might be without contemplating what is low and what is lofty."

The Hindu communalists to this day continue to adhere to similar principles. For example, the weekly *Organiser*, their main official mouthpiece, wrote that the caste system based on inequality constitutes an important part of the Hindu socio-psychological world-view inherent both in lower and higher castes. But if the latter fully support the caste system, the former are increasingly attracted by the ideals of egalitarianism. Nevertheless, 'chamar' will never eat together or marry 'bhangi'. The Manu laws for good fixed the tremendous difference between the peoples from lower and higher castes. It is written there that the murder of a 'vaishya' costs one hundred cows, whereas the murder of 'shudra' ten cows."

As we see, the Hindu communalists dream of reviving and preserving the mores and customs which as vestiges are impeding the march of the Indian society along the road of social progress.

Drawing up projects of bringing India back to the past, they protest against all progressive measures carried out by the INC government, plans of economic development, and oppose the expansion and strengthening of the public sector in industry, the accomplishment of land reforms and other socio-economic reforms. Such democratic foundations on which the Indian state rests as the principle of equality of all citizens regardless of sex, caste and religious affiliation, the principle of universal suffrage and the system of parliamentary democracy are not to their liking either. They insist on discarding the policy of nonalignment with imperialist military-political blocs and alliances which is being unswervingly adhered to by the Republic of India.

Having filled many teachers' posts in secondary schools, colleges and universities, Indian communalists got a chance to carry out ideological brainwashing of hundreds of thousands of Indian boys and girls in the spirit of religious-communal ideology. Moreover, having obtained important positions in the governmental machinery, policy, paramilitary units, and so on, communalists began giving direct support and patronage to the criminal elements which take part in the preparation for and implementation of anti-Muslim riots.

Especially favourable conditions for the anti-national and subversive activities of Hindu communalism occurred when a coalition of several political parties (Janata Party) took over from the INC in 1977-1980. Taking part in the coalition, the leaders of the BJS and the RSS which stood behind its back craftily used the obtaining situation to further bolster their positions in different links of the political system of India, to penetrate more deeply into the state apparatus including different political groups, juridical bodies, police and paramilitary formations created for ensuring law and order in the states.

Let us deal at greater length with the problem of RSS members infiltrating into the different links of the government apparatus. The results of this process proved rather multifarious. Indian journalist Vikram Gupta wrote in his article carried by *Mainstream* magazine, that "swayam sevaks" did not only infiltrated Hindustan Samachar, an official press agency spreading news for the Indian press in Hindi, but also established secret control over many mass media. At the same time, RSS members, V. Gupta wrote, paved themselves the way to such political parties as the INC(I), Lok Dal, Janata Party and others. Having failed to lead the movement for civil rights, the leaders of the RSS formed their own association—Manaviya Hakka Parishad. During the rule of the Janata Party they succeeded in penetrating the agencies engaged in implementing the government programme of eliminating illiteracy among adults. Their organisations Rashtriya Sanskar and Seva Joyana continue to control 1,500 centres for the enlightenment of adults throughout the whole country. The RSS leaders dream of having at least one man of their own in each of the governmental and municipal elementary schools in India. The infiltration of the RSS members in different paramilitary formations like PAC (Provincial Armed Constabulary) resulted in that the forces dispatched to keep law and order in areas swept by religious-communal unrest rather often act as accomplices of the Hindu cutthroats attacking Muslims.

After the Janata Party suffered a crushing defeat at the universal parliamentary election in 1980, and the INC(I) headed by Indira Gandhi again came to power, the temporary political coalition, of which the BJS was a member, fell apart, and the leaders of the Hindu communalism immediately took measures to set up a new party—the Bharatiya

Janata Party (BJP), which was formed on the basis of the BJS. Under the new political conditions, the leaders of the RSSS and the BJP did not abandon their former line but implement it even more skillfully than before.

Together with such national parties as the Janata Party, the INC(A), Lok Dal and others and also with different regional parties like Ahali Dal (Punjab), Telugu Desam (Andhra Pradesh), DMK (Tamilnadu), Kranti Ranga (Karnataka) and so on, the BJP is member of the right-wing bourgeois opposition to the INC(I) ruling party, taking an active part in the pre-election struggle for the seats in different bodies of legislative power both in the centre and in the states.

While elaborating political strategy aimed at turning the BJP into some "national alternative" to the INC(I) ruling party, the leaders of the Hindu communalism primarily proceed from the fact that their political ambitions have always found support from international imperialism. This is seen, among other things, from a document adopted at a meeting of the BJP leadership held in September 1981 in the town of Vrindawan. It states, for example, that the Communist Party of India and the Communist Party of India (Marxist) do not enjoy broad support in the country due to their extraterritorial links and sympathies. Coming out against them are not only national, but also international [read: "imperialist". — A. B.] forces. On the contrary the BJP, according to the authors of the document, enjoys support of the "international forces".

It should be admitted that the claims of the BJP leaders are close to truth. As early as the beginning of the 1950s, when world imperialism encountered a fresh upsurge of the national liberation struggle of the peoples of colonial and dependent countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America and was compelled to embark on decolonisation, the US State Department, according to D. E. Smith, a prominent US Orientalist, decided to bring to light the role played by religion in the domestic policies of countries which freed themselves from colonialism. For this purpose, the US founded a special research programme. Specialists from Princeton University, New York Institute of International Relations, and University of Pennsylvania took part.

On the strength of research done by the US scholars, Washington arrived at the conclusion that the bellicose Hindu chauvinism embodied by the RSSS, like the bellicose pan-Islamism represented in India by such organisation as Jamaat-i-Islami, could be useful to imperialist powers in implementing the policy of neocolonialism. From the 1960s to the 1970s, the Indian democratic press more than once cited facts testifying to the close ties established by different US organisations, from charity funds to the CIA, with the leaders of different Hindu and Muslim reactionary religious-communal organisations and groups.

As for the creation of favourable domestic conditions for turning the BJP into a major "political alternative" to the INC(I), the leaders of the RSSS and BJP bend every effort to expand their influence among the masses. Among other things they are seeking to create a "new image" of the BJP in the different segments of the population, to persuade the masses that the BJP is a party which is allegedly not alien to secularism, democracy and socialism. Taking into account the immense popularity of the name of Mahatma Gandhi among broad circles of Indians, the Hindu communalists, contrary to historical truth, are creating a myth about the allegedly quite positive attitude of the leader of the Indian national liberation movement to the RSSS, to its ideas about the revival of the "grandeur of the Hindu nation" and "the ancient glory of Bharata". In their publications they regularly carry articles about Mahatma Gandhi, grossly distorting the true content of his spiritual legacy. Moreover, they began placing his portraits at their numerous public get-togethers and conferences.

On the other hand, proceeding from the fact that socialism is highly popular among the masses of India, for whom socialism signifies economic equality and social justice, the leaders of the BJP began stating that the main aim of this party is the striving for a kind of "Ghandiist socialism". V. Gupta wrote that prior to 1977 the leaders of the RSSS and the Jan Sangh anathematised Gandhi and socialism. This is why, V. Gupta went on, one can feel doubt whether the present-day president of the BJP Vajpaya wants Ghandiist socialism, whatever he might mean under this strange hybrid.

Recent years in India have seen ever new organisations acting under the banner of the Hindu religious-communal chauvinism. For example, on the initiative of the RSSS, an All-India Conference of Hindus (Virat Hindu Sammelan) was held on October 18, 1981 in Delhi.

The purely political character of the tasks and aims which the latter organisation faces is evident when reading the printed matter put out on the eve of its convocation. For example, the open letter signed by H. R. Gupta, a leader of the RSSS, who was chairman of the above-mentioned conference, contained an overt appeal to mobilise Hindus to struggle against the threat to make them Islamic both by means of coercion or deceit, or with the help of money. The letter also said that the Hindus' conversion into Islam is encouraged and implemented by the international pan-Islamic movement financed by petrodollars and has the task of making Hindus a religious minority so as to put an end to Hinduism in India.

Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP), a new Hindu communalist organisation, is highly active in different areas of India. Its leaders claim that it would be impossible to preserve unity and integrity of India if the "Hindus are not brought together and placed under a single banner". Stating hypocritically that their aim to "bring the Hindus together" is not spearheaded against the other religious communities in the country, but is even necessary for preserving inter-communal peace and accord, the Hindu communalists in fact pursue quite a different policy.

The press and other mass media serve as another important channel used by the RSSS-BJP leadership for the ideological indoctrination of the Indian population. As B. Madhok, the former president of Jan Sangh, admitted, the RSSS and the BJP now have at their disposal ten daily papers and fifty weeklies printed in all basic Indian languages. Besides they have their own press agency—Hindustan Samachar and also several publishing houses, including Bharat Prakashan (Delhi), Rashtra Dharma Prakashan (Lucknow), Rashtrottam Prakashan Mandir (Bangalore) and so on. The RSSS and BJP have a "research" centre of their own dealing with the elaboration of ideological problems—the research institute named after D. Upadhaya, which issues a quarterly entitled *Manthan* (Studies).

Methods and means of ideological and psychological indoctrination of the Hindu population of India in the spirit of communalist ideas and theories used by the leaders of the RSSS and VHP are rather diverse. For this purpose, for example, there exist special "training camps" which are annually organised by the RSSS both at the state and national levels. Hundreds of thousands of members of the RSSS and the VHP are "trained" there.

Ever broader quarters of democratic Indian public are well aware of the grave danger of Hindu communalism, which is in the vanguard of the Indian reactionaries. They demand from the government of India that urgent and resolute measures be adopted to protect rights, property and life of the representatives of religious minorities, and also that such organisations as the RSSS be banned legislatively.

It should be pointed out that a number of measures in this direction have already been taken. Among other things,

the government has set up a special committee which is to examine complaints of Indian Muslims whose rights and property interests were impinged. The Indian Ministry of the Interior published a statement on a wider representation of Indian minorities in the police and intelligence service, which is supposed to intensify the sense of security among the representatives of the minorities. The Indian press reports that in the near future special courts will be set up which will investigate the criminal cases linked with the inciting and organising of religious-communal mutinies in different areas of the country. A decision has also been taken to set up councils on national integration in all Indian states. All these measures are intended to build confidence and accord among the different religious communities of present-day India.

The Communist Party of India is the staunchest and most consistent fighter against the forces of the Hindu communalist reactionaries. Addressing communists, socialists, all democrats of India, the General Secretary of the National Council of the CPI Rajeshwara Rao called on them to discard temporary differences, to close the ranks to lead the Indian people along the road of the most complete implementation of the policy of secularism, democracy, universal progress and prosperity of the people, leading to socialism.

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SRI LANKAN PROBLEMS BLAMED ON ENCOURAGING FOREIGN INVESTMENT

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[Article by Oksana Ul'rikh, doctor of economic sciences: "Sri Lanka--The Consequences of the 'Open Doors' Policy"]

[Text]

The years the United National Party¹ has been in power in Sri Lanka (since 1977) have brought about a complex situation in the country's economy in which the sharp changes effected by the present leadership in the economic policy become increasingly manifest. The preceding United Front (a coalition of left parties) government sought to combine the economic and social aims in its development strategy, and these included the maintenance of the achieved level of people's well-being. Sri Lanka's successes in the social sphere in that period were substantial insofar as the developing countries were concerned.

The United Front government followed a policy of developing the economy with the country's own resources, establishing and strengthening the public sector in the key branches of the economy, promoting nationalisation and allowing the use of foreign capital under strict state control. Preservation of economic independence was the main goal of Sri Lanka's development in those years.

The present UNP government has chosen a diametrically different course. The aim is to create a "free" economy by attracting foreign capital in every way and granting it the greatest possible privileges. Agreements were reached on wide-scale financing the Lankan economy by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Develop-

ment (IBRD) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), as well as on state and private investments by a number of capitalist countries. The granting of foreign capital to Sri Lanka was accompanied by demands which usually attend a developing country's entry into relations of economic "co-operation" with the power centres of the capitalist economic system. In this particular case the demands were as follows: unconditional "opening" of the country's home market to foreign capital, creation of favourable conditions for the activities of foreign firms, complete reorientation of the country's economy on the world capitalist market, alteration of tax, customs, currency and other legislation in the interest of foreign capital, allround state support of local private business and the transfer of the public sector from the sphere of production into the sphere of infrastructure, abolition of state food subsidies and increase of the prices of farm products, gradual transition from financing, chiefly at the expense of such sources as the IBRD, IMF, the Asian Development Bank, the Sri Lanka Aid Group (14 states), etc., to attracting private foreign capital which must become the main motive force of the country's development.

The acceptance of practically all these demands by the UNP government has led to a sharp increase in the influx of foreign capital into the country through multilateral and bilateral channels.

International financial organisations (primarily the IBRD and the IMF) and foreign monopolies welcomed the "open doors" policy pursued by the present Sri Lanka government, and the country became a major recipient of foreign "economic aid". According to

¹ The United National Party (UNP), the party of the local bourgeoisie, has been all along a political opponent of the bloc of left forces—the United Front consisting of Sri Lanka Freedom, Socialist and Communist Parties. Its coalition government was in office from 1970 to 1977.

some estimates, the influx of foreign capital in 1981 was \$ 65 per capita (more than a third of the per capita national income). As a result, the country's foreign debt increased about four times over in five years: from 11 billion rupees in 1977 to 42.5 billion rupees in 1982.

One of the most graphic manifestations of this policy is the continuing devaluation of the rupee in relation to the dollar. Thus, in 1970 the dollar-rupee ratio was 1:5.95; in 1975—1:7.05; in 1978—1:15.61; and in 1981—1:19.25. Last year the government was further forced to devalue the rupee: to 23 for an American dollar.

The basic aim of the present government's economic policy is mass influx of foreign capital and its use for the promotion of major economic projects. The main construction unit is the Mahaweli project which is to lay the foundation for hydropower development and irrigation in the country. Its significance for the Sri Lanka economy may be illustrated by the following figures: the Mahaweli River basin occupies about 10,000 square kilometres of the country's total area of 65,600 square kilometres. This river brings into the ocean about a fifth of all the water resources of Sri Lanka.

The Mahaweli project was worked out in 1968 and its realisation was to extend over 30 years. The first irrigation installation (the dam at Polgoll) was completed in 1976 and cost 390 million rupees to build. The irrigated land (320,000 hectares) yielded bumper harvests and the complex fully paid for itself within the four farming seasons in 1976/1977.

The UNP government altered the original plan of the realisation of this big project: it decided to reduce construction time to six years and to rely wholly on foreign capital. The IMF and the IBRD, the main creditors, laid down a number of terms, demanding a reduction of hydropower and irrigation installations (three dams instead of five), transfer of construction work to foreign contractors and placing of the project under IBRD and IMF control, gradual switch-over from using official aid, which prevailed until 1980, to obtaining commercial credits on much tougher terms, devaluation of the rupee, etc.

Acceleration of construction entailed colossal outlays by Sri Lanka standards—in 1977 they were assessed at 12 billion rupees in the first five years. Half a year later the cost of the project doubled. The reassessment made in November 1980 put the figure at 31 billion rupees.

During the debate on the 1983 budget it was pointed out that as a result of low efficiency in construction extra expenses accounted for at least 40 per cent of the overall outlays for

the project. Account should also be taken of the ecological damage foreign firms inflict upon the country in building the complex at a fast rate.

The main project with which hopes are linked of Sri Lanka's economic revival, development of traditional farm production, establishment of new agro-industrial complexes, and electrification is thus being realised with big economic complications.

Another major economic action undertaken by the present government is the building of 100,000 dwelling houses (the building plans have been extended to increase the number to over 150,000 houses). The provision of the population, which grows by 250,000 a year, with housing is a serious problem indeed, especially considering that a large part of it lives in slums and hovels without water and sewerage. The insanitary conditions in which 40 per cent of the inhabitants of Colombo find themselves cause epidemics which seriously endanger people's lives. Nearly all of 4.3 billion rupees spent on housing construction from 1978 to 1982 were borrowed abroad. The overall expenditure is expected to top 6.5 billion rupees which is definitely not the final cost of the programme.

Compared to these figures, the government's expenses on the improvement of the conditions of life of the broad strata of the population living in huts, in bidonvilles, look absolutely meagre. In 1981 and 1982, the total spent for this purpose came to less than one per cent of the amount put into the realisation of the ambitious "housing programme".

In 1982, the government decided to transfer the fulfilment of the housing programme from the public to the private sector. A bank for housing construction has been set up to receive funds from abroad and grant credits and loans on commercial terms to private contractors, housing cooperatives and other "builders". Credits granted to the private sector for these purposes rose in 1982 by 27 per cent to a total of 1.5 billion rupees. The programme of so-called new housing construction has thus assumed a still more definite commercial character, with the private concerns pursuing just one aim—profit.

Besides bearing the expenses for the housing programme, the country's finances are heavily burdened with the "prestigious" expenditure on the building of new parliament and administrative complexes. They have cost over one billion rupees and next in the programme is the building of a new airport and certain other installations. "Prestigious" construction in the conditions of growing financial difficulties is sharply criticised by a number of Lankan specialists.

The government also encourages in every way the building by foreign firms of luxurious hotels which entails negative consequences: increased imports of expensive building machinery and materials, growth of the number of foreign specialists, and expenditure of electrical energy and water which are in short supply. This naturally contributes to the growth of employment and the development of tourism, but the present and future negative results of the organisation of "luxury" tourism will exceed the profit it brings. Suffice it to say that the Five Stars Hotel consumes an amount of electrical energy that would be enough to electrify 5,000 dwellings of poor people.

Therefore, housing construction in the country on the whole should be regarded as fulfilment of the programme of improving the living conditions of those who have money and as neglect of the needs of the poorest strata of the population.

One of the results of the government policy of attracting foreign capital is the creation of a "free trade zone" in the country. In this zone foreign firms engage in production and trade activity oriented entirely on export, on much better terms than at home, and consequently receive bigger profits. They are provided with land, water and electrical energy at low prices and, what is most important, are given the possibility of employing considerably cheaper manpower than in the "free zones" of other developing countries. Moreover, foreign investors are granted all manner of tax, currency and customs privileges which increase their profits and bring financial losses to Sri Lanka. The establishment of the "free trade zone" is qualified by the present government as one of the major successes of economic policy. The main argument is that these zones play a big role in reducing unemployment, accelerating industrial development and acquiring the modern technology the country needs.

Actually, however, the "free zone" is a definite concession by the government to foreign monopolies which not only enables them to receive high profits, but also to exert an influence on the most important spheres of the Lankan economy: trade, finance, industry and agriculture.

A fuller picture of the conditions and results of the development of the "free trade zone" appears in some analyses made by local specialists. To create favourable conditions for the "zone" the government has had to spend over 360 million rupees for the improvement and modernisation of the infrastructure in the area of the "zone" and continues to allocate about 60 million rupees a year for this purpose.

The foreign firms' investments into the development of the "zone" have been minimal, reaching the sum of only 326 million rupees at the end of 1982.

The government's aim—expansion of the country's industrial base and acquisition of new equipment—has also not been achieved so far because the foreign firms in the "zone" engage chiefly in making garments (69 per cent of those employed), jewellery, etc. Moreover, many enterprises are equipped with old machinery which could not be used in the conditions of Singapore, Hong Kong and South Korea. Agreements have lately been concluded with American, West German and other firms to establish in the "zone" factories producing electronic devices and chemicals. This, however, also will not give the country access to new technology inasmuch as the enterprises in the "zone" are owned entirely by foreign firms which control production.

When the government decided to establish the "free trade zone," it hoped to receive considerable profit from it. It was expected that the sum would come to about five billion rupees by 1981. The hopes, however, failed to materialise. The profit from the "zone" in 1982 turned out to be but one-twelfth of that sum.

There is also an important social aspect that must be taken into account in assessing the results of the foreign firms' activities in the "free zone". Though the establishment of the "free trade zone" did increase employment in the country and lowered the level of unemployment (at the beginning of 1983 over 25,000 people were employed at the enterprises and about 40,000 in the services industry in the "zone"), the working conditions there are very difficult. Ninety per cent of those employed are young women who receive 20 rupees a day for really hard work. There is a ban in the "zone" on the activities of trade unions and other public organisations, on strikes and other forms of protest against excessive exploitation.

One of the most serious negative consequences of the government's economic policy is the snowballing of the country's foreign debt. It increased from 4.9 billion rupees in 1976 to 42.5 billion rupees in 1982. A big role in this was played by the devaluation of the rupee. As a result, the foreign debt is estimated to have increased by 12-13 per cent.

The huge foreign debt naturally poses the problem of its repayment and the payment of interest on it. So far this problem has not faced the country squarely. In 1983, the amount that went for the repayment of the debts and the payment of interest on

them came to 8.7 per cent of the GNP, but in 1986 it is expected to rise to 26 per cent.

The state policy of "open doors" has also led to serious changes in industry and agriculture. The growth of industrial output in 1978-1982 was not stable and depended to a large extent on import of industrial goods and raw materials. One could cite quite a few instances of the as yet none-too-strong local industry meeting with foreign competition on the home market in the sale of certain kinds of equipment, farm implements and manufactured consumer goods, including textiles. The seizure of the home market by foreign monopolies is apparently still at the initial stage, but Lankan industry is already losing out as a result of competition with foreign monopolies and their trade activities in the country. In 1982 alone, the cost of the raw materials imported for Sri Lanka's industry rose by 47 per cent.

The increase of farm output is regarded as one of the biggest achievements of the government's economic policy. The production of the country's staple food—rice—has indeed grown considerably (from 1,677,000 tons in 1977 to 2,156,000 tons in 1982), and Sri Lanka has become nearly self-sufficient in this. The stop put by the UNP government to subsidising rice consumption by the population immediately brought about an increase in the prices of rice on the home market, raised farmers' profits and enabled them to make wider use of the achievements of the "green revolution", primarily fertilizers. The government nominally preserved the system of guaranteed procurement prices of rice, but raised them substantially. In 1978, for instance, the peasants sold 42.5 per cent of the rice going to the market at the guaranteed price of 40 rupees per bushel. The rest was acquired by middlemen. In 1982, the guaranteed purchase price was 62.5 rupees, while the volume of purchases at this price became insignificant—3 per cent. The country's rice market in fact turned into a private market, bringing middlemen millions in profits.

Initially, the increase in the prices of rice strongly stimulated its producers to invest more in their farms. The amount of fertilizers used increased in 1980 alone by 60,000 tons. Inflation, however, has brought changes in this process. The rise of the prices of fertilizers and fuel is outpacing the increase in the rice prices, and the high cost of production is responsible for the low profitability of small farms (most of the farms in the country have less than two acres of land). They are compelled to reduce the consumption of fertilizers and the use of machinery:

the amount of fertilizers consumed in 1981 was 20 per cent less than in the preceding year.

Rice cultivation is ill affected by the credits granted for it. State crediting of small farmers by far does not cover all the farms that require aid. Indicative of the level of state crediting is the fact that in 1982 state credits amounted to only 10 per cent of the cost of that year's harvest. A large part of farm credits go to usurers, middlemen and shopkeepers who keep small farmers constantly in debt.

The analysis of the government's policy concerning the production and distribution of rice, the country's staple food, thus shows graphically that its main socio-economic result is the sharp acceleration of differentiation in the countryside. The abolition of "rice subsidies" has brought the masses of landless peasants, who account for 40-45 per cent of the country's population, to the verge of starvation.

As for the plantations, which are the source of approximately 30 per cent of currency receipts, this branch of the economy is in the state of stagnation. The output of tea has declined from 412 million rupees in 1979 to 374 million rupees in 1982 and that of rubber from 223 million to 182 million rupees (in permanent prices). The cause of this stagnation is the unsatisfactory process of replantation of export crops in the public sector on account of insufficient appropriations and poor organisation of this process. In the private sector the main reason is the growing expensiveness of replantation as a result of the rupee's depreciation. Inflation is swallowing up practically all the subsidies given by the government to small planters.

The planned establishment of "free agricultural zones" will probably be yet another concession by the UNP government to foreign monopolies. Using Sri Lanka's foreign debt and its need of new foreign credits as a means of pressure upon the government, the foreign monopolies get the kind of concessions and privileges they have not been granted so far in many other developing countries.

The most important social problem to which the Sri Lankan government is devoting the least attention in its practical activities is that of putting an end to the poverty of the broad masses. It is generally known that more than 50 per cent of the population live below the poverty line, i. e., their incomes (less than 300 rupees a month) cannot provide them with sufficient food, clothes, proper housing

conditions, education and medical aid. The UNP government has lifted price controls and in fact abolished the system of subsidising foodstuffs for the poorest sections of the population. It has sharply reduced government outlays for social needs. In 1960-1975 state expenditure on food subsidies, education and medical service came to about 50 per cent of the current state expenses, in 1981 it was only 18 per cent, and no substantial changes in the situation are envisaged in the development programmes for 1983-1987. All this has more than doubled the cost of living.

Inflation and the rise of prices, growing big business profits, profiteering and the government's wage policy inevitably lead to increasing social inequality in the country.

But economic and social problems are not the only ones in Sri Lanka. There are also religious-communal and national differences of explosive nature. This was evidenced by the religious-communal unrest last summer which led to bloody clashes between the Sinhalese and the Tamils, the main nationalities in the country.

The lot of the people, notably the working class, is also seriously complicated by the fact that the UNP government seeks to deprive the workers of the possibility of fighting for their rights with strikes. It resorts to tough and emergency measures, capitalising on extensive unemployment, and takes steps to weaken the trade unions.

The social problems experienced by Sri Lanka in 1977-1983 show graphically that the rising cost of living and the growth of social inequality are an integral part of "free enterprise", of the establishment of relations of "dependent capitalism".

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INTERNATIONAL

PAMPHLET ON DISARMAMENT, ARMS RACE REVIEWED

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 4, Jul-Aug 84 pp 61-62

[Review by N. Simoniya, doctor of historical sciences, of book "Disarmament: Who Is Against?" (Moscow, 1983, 96 pp) under the headline "To Be or Not To Be?"]

[Text] *Disarmament: Who Is Against?* Voenizdat Publishers, Moscow, 1983, 96 pp. (in Russian and English).

The period of the transition from feudalism to capitalism (the 17th century) brought to the scene the Shakespearean character Hamlet tormented by the question, "To be or not to be". Now in the period of the world's transition from capitalism to communism mankind has found itself confronted with a similar question brought on by actions of the imperialist powers.

The phenomenon of the arms race has long been known to mankind, but for the first time in its history it has acquired such a universal and all-embracing nature affecting the vital interests of every individual in any part of the world.

Who is to blame for the fact that the problem of curbing the arms race has not been hitherto tackled in the spirit prompted by elementary logic? What must be done to stop the dangerous march of events in the world?

The book under review gives crystal-clear and precise answers to these questions. It contrasts two diametrically opposing trends: the socialist countries' bid for constructive talks, for the earliest possible curbing of the arms race and for disarmament, and the obstructionist stand of the United States and its closest allies seeking a further build up of arms of all kinds. The book gives the reader a chance to compare the two approaches to the arms race: the Soviet and the American, of the Warsaw Treaty and the NATO countries.

Facts indicate that the United States has been invariably acting as an initiator of the arms race; it has been

stimulating and spurring up its every new round, has been rejecting all the initiatives aimed at bridling the continuing race in armaments and has been opposing all the efforts that could make disarmament talks a success. Even if compelled to sit down at the negotiation table the United States does everything possible to sabotage the talks. In those few cases when the United States had to sign agreements providing for restraining certain aspects of the arms race, it delayed the ratification of such documents under various, always invented pretexts, to finally torpedo their implementation.

Here are a few examples to illustrate the truth of what has been said above: the US Administration has frustrated the SALT-2 Treaty; it has not ratified up to this day the 1974 Treaty on limiting underground nuclear tests and the 1976 Treaty on using underground nuclear tests for peaceful purposes. The US Administration has been undermining the termless treaty signed in 1972 between the Soviet Union and the United States on limiting anti-missile defence systems. The United States has broken off unilaterally talks for a ban on chemical arms, and over a total ban on nuclear arms tests. It has withdrawn from the negotiations on limiting military activities in the Indian Ocean, on curtailing international trade in arms or deliveries of conventional arms, on anti-satellite systems, etc., etc. When the administration runs out of inventiveness as regards pretexts or reasons under which proposals of the socialist countries are turned down, it takes up such a primitive method as silence. For example, in 1981 the So-

viet Union proposed that Europe be freed of nuclear arms—either medium-range or tactical. Having absolutely no arguments against that sensible proposal the United States preferred not to respond to the Soviet Union's initiative and has been keeping silent over it ever since. This is quite natural since the Soviet Union's proposal ran counter to the US plan to deploy several hundred Pershings-2 and cruise missiles in West European countries. Developments of the end of 1983 confirmed that. Ignoring the opinion clearly expressed by the European public at large, the United States and its closest allies embarked on the deployment of missiles which are, in fact, first strike strategic weapons capable of hitting targets all over the Soviet Union's European part. After all, their launch-to-target time is no more than 6 to 8 minutes. An attempt was made thereby to break the parity in the strategic arms that existed in the world.

This list of examples can be easily prolonged. They are carefully listed and analysed in the book under review. These examples are contrasted in the book to the untiring efforts of the Soviet Union and other socialist community and nonaligned countries seeking to halt the arms race and bring about peace and disarmament. The Soviet Union has been coming out with concrete proposals all the time, has been pressing for negotiations, has been displaying maximal readiness for mutually acceptable

compromises which could help break the impasse. It has pledged unilaterally not to be the first to use nuclear arms, and so on and so forth. Throughout the entire postwar history the Soviet Union has never been an initiator of the development of any new kinds of arms. It had to ward off threats coming from the United States and take countermeasures for ensuring its own security.

The authors of the book justly point out that "since the time when the cold war was at its height the show of rude strength has never been displayed so obviously and shamelessly by the White House administration as it is now" (pp. 94-95). In these conditions of special importance is the stand taken by the Soviet Union which views the disarmament problem as universal, concerning all the states and all the peoples. In its efforts to solve it the Soviet Union proceeds from the belief that all the countries without exception, regardless of their size or of their military and economic potential, can contribute to constructive searches of a solution to that problem.

The appearance of the book *Disarmament: Who Is Against?* is very timely. It will help all who still have doubts as to which direction should be followed to overcome their hesitations and join the sincere champions of the movement for promoting peace, curbing the arms race and bringing about disarmament.

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INTERNATIONAL

BOOK ON MPR, SRV, DPRK ECONOMIES REVIEWED

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[Review by M. Gol'man, candidate of historical sciences, of book "Proletarian Internationalism and the Development of Asian Socialist Countries" (Moscow, 1983, 527 pp) under the headline "Proletarian Internationalism in Action"]

[Text] *Proletarian Internationalism and the Development of Asian Socialist Countries*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1983, 527 pp.

The historical importance of the first socialist states in Asia could hardly be overestimated. This is the experience of the emergence and development of genuine socialism under specific historical conditions. The monograph under review is a collective study by scholars from fraternal socialist countries (Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland and the Soviet Union) who, using the examples of the Mongolian People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, thoroughly analysed the role, importance and great transforming force of the principles of proletarian internationalism as an objective regularity of socialist construction both in Eastern and Western countries.

The work is of a complex and in many respects even innovatory nature. Some problems of proletarian internationalism in application to the countries of the East were the subject of many special and general theoretical publications in this country, but as a whole they are tackled for the first time in the above-mentioned monograph, thus adding to its importance.

The authors draw on a wealth of sources to illustrate the revolutionary experience accumulated by the MPR, the SRV and the DPRK, an experience, which, despite its specificity, particularly in North Korea, was conditioned by objective regularities. They note that the latter should be taken into

account for a successful advance along the road of social progress and for stronger national independence.

What is meant here is, primarily, the gradual nature of development, the need and inevitability of the general democratic stage for creating prerequisites for direct and large-scale socialist changes; the need and inevitability of the ripening of the revolutionary situation for the triumph of revolution, the form of which is contingent on the tasks set and the alignment of forces within the country and the world; the need and inevitability, especially at the stage of socialist construction, of recognising the primacy of general principles of socialist transformations tested by the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism, the experience of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, including those in Asia. The application of these principles makes it imperative not to absolutise the national specificity but to take it into account; and, finally, the need of guiding society by its Marxist-Leninist vanguard, the party of the working class. The more loyal this party is to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian socialist internationalism the more successful is the evolution of the revolutionary process.

After analysing the contemporary history of Mongolia, Vietnam and North Korea exhaustively the authors draw the fundamental conclusion that all radical changes in the life of these three socialist countries in the current period of their centuries-old history, their successful non-capitalist development and the fruit of their selfless struggle and work stem from

the transforming and creative impact of mutual assistance and cooperation between these countries and the Soviet Union, other fraternal socialist states, the world communist and working-class movement, all progressive forces of the present.

The authors deserve credit in addition for having shown vividly the mechanism of reciprocity of international and national factors and the ways and forms of manifestation of proletarian internationalism in all spheres of social life: politics, economy, culture and ideology in the periods of revolutionary upheavals, peaceful construction and repulsing imperialist aggression. The authors not only analyse the past and the present but boldly forecast a further advance of the socialist countries of Asia, taking into account the increasing influence of such international factors as the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, socialist economic integration, and others.

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SEYCHELLES WHITE PAPER ON 1981 COUP ATTEMPT REVIEWED

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 4, Jul-Aug 84 pp 62-63

[Review by N. Gavrilov, doctor of economic sciences, of book "White Paper on the Aggression of 25 November 1981 against the Republic of the Seychelles" (Victoria, 1982, 264 pp) under the headline "The 'White Book' on Dirty Deeds"]

[Text] *Livre blanc de l'agression du 25 novembre 1981 contre la République des Seychelles*, Victoria, 1982, 264 pp.

The *White Book* about the November 1981 aggression against the Republic of the Seychelles irrefutably proves that this criminal action was perpetrated by South African racists with the aim of overthrowing the progressive regime there. Numerous facts go to show that the aggression was planned and staged with the help of the CIA.

What "crime" did the Republic of the Seychelles commit against the racists and their patrons in Washington? First and foremost, its following a road of progressive reforms. In the course of several years, guided by the government and the Seychelles People's Progressive Front the country has scored impressive successes in economic and social life.

In his preface to the *White Book*, James Michel, Minister of Education and Information of the Republic of the Seychelles, wrote that the regime of apartheid aimed at putting an end to socialist development embarked upon by the Seychelles people and to the plans for creating a society based on social justice, freedom, striving for peace and solidarity with the peoples' struggle.

The authors painstakingly trace the developments from the mercenary detachment's arrival at the Victoria airport at 17.30 p. m., November 25, 1981 to the restoration of normal air communication with the Seychelles on December 4 of that year.

Information obtained from the mercenaries who were taken prisoner and from captured documents testifies

that the participants in the operation were charged with the task of assassinating top Seychelles leaders who were to attend a conference of the Executive Central Committee of Seychelles People's Progressive Front (SPPF) at the People's House "In case the arrest is a failure, President René and some ministers should be assassinated", was the order. The executors were promised a high price, from 20,000 to 30,000 rands apiece, while other participants would receive only 10,000 rands each.

The section entitled "Seized Documents and Materials" contains direct evidence testifying to the mercenaries' participation in South Africa's aggression against the Seychelles, such as copies of documents, photographs of the weapons used, and others.

Analysing the abortive operation, President René justly pointed the finger at Pretoria. He noted that the aggressive plans failed because the entire people rose as one, displaying force and determination. The President said that the enemies sought to destroy a new society now under construction in the Seychelles, but all their attempts failed.

This and other imperialist acts of subversion staged of late irrefutably prove that terroristic activity of South African racists against the progressive regime in Seychelles is mounting. The data contained in the *White Book* also makes it possible for the conclusion to be drawn that every African country, no matter how small, can frustrate the scheming of imperialists and their hirelings if the popular masses are watchful of their revolutionary gains.

BOOK ON HISTORY OF KOREAN THEATER IN USSR REVIEWED

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 4, Jul-Aug 84 p 63

[Review by V. Pak, candidate of philological sciences, of book by I. F. Kim "The Soviet Korean Theater" (Alma-Ata, 1982, 202 pp) under the headline "Korean Theater Promoting Internationalism"]

[Text]

I. F. KIM, *The Soviet Korean Theatre*, Alma Ata, 1982, 202 pp. (in Russian).

There are quite a few informative books telling the reader about small nationalities and ethnic groups in the Soviet Union which participate in the comprehensive socialist construction. The book under review provides an account of the history of the Soviet Korean State Theatre, which has recently received the Badge of Honour, a lofty government award.

The author of the book, Iosif Kim, a playwright and stage director attached to the State Korean Theatre in Alma Ata, describes the emergence and activity of the theatre over the past fifty years, its successes resulting from the consistent Leninist national policy pursued by the CPSU, and the Soviet state's care of the Koreans who are USSR citizens.

The monograph covers the activity of the theatre from the times when only small amateur drama companies existed in the city of Vladivostok (in small Korean suburb of Sinhanchon), and up to the early 1980s.

The Soviet government's decision launched the Far Eastern Territory Korean Theatre on September 9, 1932 when separate companies and numerous amateur groups of Koreans, inhabiting the Soviet Far East, were united in the theatre. Today about a hundred people, highly educated and skilled, comprising three generations of actors and stage directors, work at the theatre.

The theatre is highly popular with the entire multinational population

of the Soviet Union, and not just among the Koreans. The Korean Theatre in Alma Ata is an unusual collective. It gave 250 and more performances a year in the countryside over the last half a century, thus forging close connections with the rural population. The theatre has entertained more than five million people over the years of its existence in Kazakhstan, the Central Asian republics, in the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Moldavia. The company has staged about 200 plays and concert programmes, including more than 70 original works and 71 pieces by Russian, Soviet and foreign authors translated into Korean.

During these fifty years the theatre has been building up a progressive national repertoire, based on the abundant classical heritage of the centuries-old Korean culture. It has been staging plays in which the gems of Korean folklore were used. Here are some of them: "The Legend of Chunhyang, the Most Faithful of All Girls", "The Legend of the Virtuous Girl Simchon", "The Eight Goddesses from Diamond Mountains". (The full list is given in the Addenda to the book). These and many other performances have moulded the theatre as a creative national collective.

The company's repertoire includes also plays describing the real Korean history. Of great interest from this point of view is the play "Living Buddha" by Han Chin which portrays events that actually took place in the 10th century A. D. Konyu, an ex-

monk of a Buddhist order, became the supreme ruler of the country, aided by his disciples, to whom he had promised "to be a just ruler and do no harm to the people". On becoming the monarch, however, he forgot all his promises and destroyed his entire entourage. Kuniyuo established his power by means of cruelty, oppression and terror. Slander, denunciation, tortures and executions became a routine during his rule. In order to whitewash his crimes the monarch declared himself to be the new Messiah, ordered to burn the books and, on the "tabula rasa of the people's minds", began to "write a new history" which turned out to be a tragedy for his people. The theme of lawlessness and arbitrary rule is the leitmotif of the play, which ends, fortunately, in the overthrow of the hateful tyrant. The feelings aroused by the play, its ideas connect it with present-day events. The author concentrates on the problems concerning all humanity, and states that tyranny cannot last long, no matter what form it takes. It will be ultimately destroyed to clear the path towards genuine freedom and social progress.

Soviet Academician Dmitri Likhachyov once said that Russian culture is rooted not only in its own past but in the neighbouring cultures, too. "Russian culture has a ramified network of roots and a large crown of foliage touching upon the crowns of

other trees". Figuratively speaking, the Korean theatre is a part of these roots and crowns, as from ancient times it has been developing in close contact with Russian culture, with Russian and Soviet theatrical art. Therefore, the interpretation by the company of the Russian and Soviet classical repertoire, its work and cooperation with the authors and borrowing from theatrical art of other peoples of the USSR are fully justified.

Mention should also be made of the Korean theatre's concert performances, another aspect of its creative endeavour. For their guest tours the actors usually have new stage productions and a large concert programme which includes Korean folk songs, and pop music by modern Korean composers.

Such is, in short, the unique path traversed by the national Korean Theatre, the only of its kind beyond the Korean borders, which is the subject of the book under review.

The monograph by Iosif Kim is his first and quite successful attempt at writing a history of the internationalist Korean Theatre, from the time of its inception and including the present. The book contains a detailed record of the theatre's creative work, and is of interest to the general reader, as well as to those studying the multinational culture of the family of the fraternal Soviet peoples.

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BOOK ON PACIFIC REGION ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT REVIEWED

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 4, Jul-Aug 84 pp 63-64

[Review by V. Reznikov, candidate of historical sciences, of book "Pacific Regionalism: Concepts and Reality" (Moscow, 1983, 262 pp) under the headline "Integration Problems of Pacific Countries"]

[Text] *Pacific Regionalism: Concepts and Reality*, Nauka Publishers, 1983, 262 pp. (in Russian).

This book was written by experts in a number of social sciences, such as economists, historians, and politologists, working at the Institute of Oriental Studies, USSR Academy of Sciences, and allows of a comprehensive survey of the problems of interstates relations in the Pacific region.

In recent years the discussion of the so-called "Pacific idea" has become more active in academic community and governmental circles of the Pacific region. The importance of the changes that occurred during the past two or three decades in the economic aspect of the Pacific zone of world economy exceeds the limits of the region. Economic potentials of major countries in the region have increased substantially, the rates of their economic growth were higher than the average for non-socialist world, and the Western part of the region became a most dynamic zone of world economy, economic exchange and the development of fresh tendencies in the international division of labour. On the other hand, international relations in the Pacific region, particularly in its western part, were marked by high tensions and the urge by imperialism to solve international problems from the position of strength, and with the help of the military-political blocs and other measures which have split the region into groupings.

Postwar Japan has been the most important factor of the region's economic development. At the same time,

the areas of the Pacific coast of the USA and Canada became most dynamic in North America, as far as the rates and scope of the growth of industry, population, cities and infrastructure are concerned. In the 1970s, the Pacific direction of foreign trade became more important to the USA than its trade with Europe. The mounting of demand for mineral resources and agricultural produce has promoted the advancement of Australia, Canada and New Zealand to the group of the world's leading exporters of mineral, agricultural and energy raw materials. Serious changes have also occurred in the economies of the developing countries and territories of the Pacific region. South Korea, Singapore, Taiwan, and Hong Kong became "industrialised islands" of sorts among the developing Asian states. Their involvement in the regional trade has increased considerably: their overall share of the international trade has reached 40 per cent of that of Japan. ASEAN—a political and economic association—has come into being, as have regional economic organisations of small states, such as South Pacific Forum and South Pacific Bureau for Economic Cooperation.

Private capital investments and vigorous activities by transnational corporations and banks have become an important element in the structure of intra-regional trade and economic ties, this giving a boost to regional financial centres, such as Tokyo, Singapore and Hong Kong, stimulating technological exchanges, and providing for wider economic aid programmes. Rapid development of the

manufacturing and mining industries oriented toward exports, and the expansion of agricultural production and food trade within the region have contributed to its greater economic independence. These changes and processes in the Pacific zone of the world economy have become the foundation for the idea of a "Pacific community".

Industrialisation of a number of developing countries in the region, oriented toward a wide use of foreign economic ties with developed capitalist countries has both brought about serious changes in their own economic structure, and enhanced interdependence between them and developed states. For example, their future importance for providing developed capitalist states with agricultural and mineral raw materials has tangibly increased, and labour-intensive, energy-intensive, material-intensive and polluting industries have been transferred to their territories. It has become obvious that this calls for a deep-going and possibly coordinated structural change in their national economies and for an expansion, on this basis, of markets for goods from the developing countries. Inactivity in this sphere will jeopardise the tendency toward their greater economic integration into the world capitalist economy, that took shape in the 1960s and 1970s and place greater strains on the ties by which the developed Pacific nations have sought to tie their junior partners to their own economic structures.

The programme for setting up a "Pacific economic community" provides for the solution of another important problem. Quite a few complications in the economic life of the region are still linked with the inter-imperialist rivalry. Economic contradictions between developed capitalist countries have three dimensions: first, bilateral relations between the USA and Japan, second, those between these economic and political giants of the non-socialist world and their "junior" partners, such as Canada, Australia and New Zealand, and, third, competition between all the developed capitalist nations (above all, the USA and Japan) for influence in the West Pacific developing countries.

US-Japanese economic rivalry exerts an increasing influence on the system of multilateral economic relations in the region. There have been growing economic contradictions between the USA and Canada, Australia and Japan, and Australia and New Zealand. These contradictions have

deep roots and often exceed the limits of economic ties, being caused by the Pacific countries' mineral and raw-material resources acquiring greater importance in the international trade and movement of capital as well as in the regional structure of raw material consumption. Exploitation by transnational corporations of the natural resources of Australia and Canada, manipulation of raw materials prices, exporters' financial losses resulting from the exports of non-processed raw materials, and the growing technological dependence on US and Japanese monopolies are becoming grave problems in home economic policies of the raw materials exporting countries and in their relations with the USA and Japan.

Any attempt to unite the group of the Pacific countries on the basis of economic relations will inevitably have influence on their political ties as well, and, given the present-day international situation, there is no ground to hope that such an organisation will be neutral.

That is why there is nothing unusual in the fact that the plans for setting up a regional economic organisation which excludes participation of socialist countries may also be regarded as an attempt to check their growing involvement in the regional economic affairs, and to prop up economically the ramified network of military and political blocs and alliances that have been in existence for many decades and are spearheaded against the Soviet Union, the Mongolian People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and also the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

The sphere of international economic ties in the Pacific region is far from being free from the influence of political considerations and strategic relations within the framework of the East-West dialogue. Amid continuing instability in international relations, it is highly dangerous to add tensions to the situation in the Pacific, and to seek to make use of the objective economic trends to whip up political tensions. The really effective regional economic cooperation can be promoted only through setting up a truly democratic and open organisation to operate amid reliable peace and security of all peoples of the region, which itself will become a factor in stabilising international relations.

One can only agree with these conclusions of the authors.

INTERNATIONAL

BRIEFS

GUYANESE POLITICIAN IN BAKU--(AzerINFORM) Cheddi Bharat Jagan, general secretary of the People's Progressive Party of Guyana, who is in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee, is visiting our republic. Cheddi B. Jagan was received in the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, where he had a talk with R. E. Mekhtiyev, Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee secretary. On Sunday Cheddi B. Jagan left Baku. [Excerpts] [Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 22 Jul 84 p 3]

PDRY RELIGIOUS OFFICIALS IN BAKU--(AzerINFORM) A delegation of religious figures from the PDRY is in Baku. It is headed by Khalid Fadl Mansur, minister of justice and religious trusts. It is visiting our country at the invitation of the USSR Council of Ministers Council on Religious Affairs. On 21 July the guests were received in Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers. F. G. Akhmedov, Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman, told them about the economic successes of Azerbaijan's working people and about their achievements in the area of science and culture. The religious figures were informed about the constitutional rights of religious believers in the republic. On the same day the delegation members had a meeting with N. G. Yusifov, Azerbaijan SSR minister of justice; they visited the Taza-Pir Mosque and the Spiritual Administration of the Muslims of Transcaucasia, where they met with Chairman Sheik ul-Islam A. Pasha-Zade. [Excerpt] [Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 22 Jul 84 p 3]

FRG COMMUNISTS IN BAKU--(AzerINFORM) A group of "workers" from West Germany is travelling through the Soviet Union and is now in Baku. The delegation is headed by Karl Heinz Schreider, member of the German Communist Party [DKP] Presidium and Secretariat. Other members include: "trade union worker" Manfred Roter; Oya Lau, a native of Turkey; and Peter Jung, chairman of the DKP Ludwigshafen district committee. The delegation was received in the Azerbaijan Trade Unions Council and met with Chairman L. Kh. Rasulova. [Summary] [Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 20 Jul 84 p 3]

INDIAN MUSLIMS IN AZERBAIJAN--(AzerINFORM) A delegation of Indian Muslims was in Baku. They are in our country at the invitation of the USSR's Muslim organizations. Dr Said Asrarul Haq, president of the National Unity Committee and a member of parliament, is the head of the delegation. The delegation members were received in the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Presidium Secretary R. S. Kaziyeva told them about the successes and achievements of the

republic's working people in developing the economy, science and culture, and informed them about the activities and structure of the republic's highest organ of state power. The delegations members saw the sights of Baku. They visited the Spiritual Administration of the Muslims of Transcaucasia and met with Chairman Sheik ul-Islam A. Pasha-Zade. They were received in the Azerbaijan Society for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. On the night of 18 July the delegation left for Samarkand. [Excerpts] [Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 18 Jul 84 p 3]

FRENCH COMMUNISTS IN UZBEKISTAN--(UZTAG) A delegation of the French Communist Party is becoming acquainted with the life of Uzbekistan. The French communists were received in the Tashkent party gorkom. [Excerpts] [Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 28 Jul 84 p 1]

CSO: 1807/296

NATIONAL

FEDORCHUK URGES STRENGTHENING OF LEGAL ORDER

Moscow POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE in Russian No 6 Jun 84 (signed to press 23 May 84) pp 26-34

[Article by V. Fedorchuk, USSR Minister of internal affairs: "Strengthening Law and Order Is Our Common Task"; passages rendered in all capital letters printed in boldface in source]

[Text] The Soviet people have been persistently implementing the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress. The documents of the congress, along with those of the ensuing Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, precisely outlined measures for the multi-faceted improvement of developed socialism. The specific thrusts of party and economic-management work in the concluding stages of the present five-year plan and for the future were profoundly reflected in the decisions of the April (1984) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, as well as in the positions and conclusions contained within the speeches of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, the chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Comrade K. U. Chernenko.

A Key Question of Principle

The increased scope and complexity of the tasks of building communism, the coming of age of newer and newer generations, and the sharp exacerbation of the struggle between the two ideologies in the international arena have all increased the requirements for the ideological-political, labor and moral indoctrination of Soviet people. More and more influence is being exerted on our society's life and development by the growing awareness and culture of working people, by civic responsibility, by an intolerance of anti-social phenomena, and by a profound understanding of the enormous importance of a firm and stable system of law and order. Developed socialism objectively presupposes the consolidation of the collectivist forms of communal living and mutual relations strictly conforming to the principles and norms of communist morality as well as socialist law and order. Our society as a whole and every Soviet citizen are motivated to have an inviolable legality and a strong system of law and order. These social values embody the class principles of socialist justice, humanism, and democratism.

Law and order in a mature socialist society consists of a system of social relations, based on a firm foundation of socialist legality, i.e., on a precise and unwavering observance of the Soviet laws by all citizens and officials, by state and public organizations. The Constitution of the USSR has strengthened

this extremely important principle, having established that the Soviet state and all its organs operate on the basis of socialist legality, ensure the preservation of law and order, the interests of society, as well as the citizens' rights and liberties (Art. 4).

In accordance with the Constitution, every citizen of the USSR is obliged to observe Soviet laws and respect the rules of socialist communal living (Art. 59); to safeguard and strengthen socialist property (Art. 61); to be implacable toward anti-social acts, to assist in all possible ways the preservation of the public order (Art. 65).

The strengthening of order, organization, and discipline in all spheres of our life and work is a key question of principle. All manner of looseness and lack of responsibility not only bring about material losses for society but also cause serious social and moral damage. And hence the unslackening attention of the party, Soviet, and Komsomol organizations, the law-enforcement organs, and our entire public opinion to the problems of ensuring reliable law and order in the country. A great deal of work has been developed along these lines. The law has reinforced the broad powers of labor groups in strengthening production and public discipline, as well as in preventing all kinds of violations of the law. Measures have been adopted to strengthen the safeguarding of socialist property, including that within an agro-industrial complex, during the transporting of goods. A determined struggle is being waged against padding accounts and plundering of fuel and lubricating materials. Administrative penalties for violating traffic safety laws have been intensified.

The party's measures with regard to increasing labor, state, and public discipline, as well as on strengthening legality, have received nationwide approval and the universal support of the working people; they are exerting a beneficial influence on the economy, public life, and the attitude of the people. The documents of the April Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet have specified further ways to improve the work of the Soviets of Peoples' Deputies, including that with regard to strengthening law and order and increasing the authority of the laws of the Soviet regime.

The constant attention paid by the party to strengthening law and order is not at all connected with any sort of extraordinary circumstances. It is a matter of how to make fuller and better use of all the advantages of our social system. These, of course, include good organization, the awareness of the masses, and the implacability of Soviet workers toward any deviations from the norms of the law. As the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade K.U. Chernenko, noted in his speech at the April Plenum, "it's not that we exercise so much care about this in order to chain down the initiative of the masses, to force their life into a 'vice', as this is interpreted in the West. No. What is important for us in law is not only its strictness but also its justice, moreover, as understood on the broadest level. And also that everyone is equal before the law. Likewise that our legal norms, our legislation, are aimed at protecting the interests of the working people, at developing their labor and social activities."

The implacable struggle against violations of the law, as well as persistently and consistently overcoming them, constitute a general-party, general-state, and nationwide cause in our country.

Negative phenomena have specific perpetrators--thieves, bribe-takers, plunderers of the people's wealth, profiteers, hooligans, and parasites. The actions of such persons contradict the principles of socialism and the commonly recognized norms. The struggle against anti-social, unlawful phenomena, which hamper the development of our society, is implacable and uncompromising in its nature. There can be no slackening here.

Responsible tasks have been assigned to the organs of internal affairs and to the Soviet police, who are on the leading edge of the struggle against anti-social phenomena. They are called upon to guarantee public order, to achieve crime prevention, to structure their work in such a way that every crime is discovered, and the guilty persons get the punishment which they deserve. A skillful, offensive struggle against lawbreakers is the highest service duty of the police to the party and the Soviet people.

In order to accomplish this goal, there has recently been a substantial strengthening, both with respect to organization and staff, of the Ministry of Internal Affairs organs, the most important operational units of the police, above all, the criminal investigation service and the BKhSS [Main Administration for Combating the Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Profiteering], the Main Administration for Maintenance of Public Order, and the Institute of Sectional Inspectors. The service training of personnel has been improved. In accordance with the trends of labor groups, as well as the recommendations of the party and Komsomol organizations, they have recruited more Communists and Komsomol members, as well as members of the working class. The ties between the police, the public, and the labor groups have been reinforced.

In accordance with a decision of the CPSU Central Committee, political organs have been created within the system of the Ministry of Internal Affairs; their tasks include the organization and supervision of party-political and ideological-indoctrinational work with the personnel staff, upgrading its professional standards, responsibility for performing its own service duty, and observance of legality.

The Main Thing Is To Prevent Crime

Expressed in all this is the constant concern of the party and the government for the political maturity and multi-faceted training of the staffs of the internal-affairs organs and for strengthening their indissoluble ties with the people. In the activity of the law-enforcement and other state organs, as well as that of the public organizations, more and more attention is being paid to averting, to preventing crimes. The persistent and consistent solution of this important socio-political problems stems from the ideology and policy of the Communist Party.

As is known, the classics of Marxism-Leninism accorded top-priority importance to crime prevention. K. Marx viewed the task of the legislator as one of preventing crime itself, without being compelled to promulgate punishment for it (see K. Marx, F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 1, p 131). Vladimir Il'ich Lenin assigned first place in the fight against crime to conviction and indoctrination, though not excluding also the need for compulsion, based on law. Of principled importance is the Leninist directive to the effect that the "preventive

importance of punishment is conditioned not at all by its severity but by its inevitability. The important thing is not that a severe punishment be assigned but rather that NOT ONE SINGLE case of crime go undiscovered" ("Pol. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], Vol 4, p 412).

The decisions of the party congresses and the Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee develop the founding positions of Marxist-Leninist theory on the questions of strengthening law and order along with legality as applied to mature socialism. Implementation of the program requirements of the CPSU with regard to overcoming crime is connected in a decisive manner with prevention, with eliminating the causes and conditions which facilitate lawbreaking.

Under the leadership of the party and Soviet organs an effective indoctrination-preventive system for deterring lawbreaking has been set up and is operating in our country; it encompasses the sphere of production as well as the sphere of everyday life. State organs along with public organizations participate in this work.

Of chief, determining importance for preventing and rooting out violations of the law is, undoubtedly, the solution of social and economic problems confronting our society, as well as the improvement of the entire ideological-political, labor and moral indoctrination of citizens. Solid results in indoctrinational work are being achieved, as experience testifies, in places where it encompasses all aspects of people's life activities, including their work and daily life, leisure and the sphere of family relations; it facilitates the formation of a healthy moral climate in the labor group, the school, family, and daily life.

One of the trends in prevention is influencing micro-social groups, where, because of a number of circumstances, anti-social phenomena can take shape. This allows us to eliminate in good time the causes and conditions facilitating violations of the law.

Likewise of extremely great importance is individual prevention--work with the specific perpetrators of an anti-social morality, with persons who commit crimes, come into conflict with the law and with the rules of our Soviet communal life. What we are talking about is the timely warning of a person against a false step, breaking the law, and using for this purpose the means of indoctrination and legal influence.

The system of preventing crimes and its trends provide measures of a general and individual nature, a wide complex of economic, indoctrinational, and legal means, social controls, the use of methods to convince and compel. It is precisely this complex, this aggregate of preventive measures which facilitates the elimination of the conditions for committing crimes and, in the final analysis, eradicating crime.

Crime prevention has been elevated by the party to the level of an important socio-political task. Participating in it are party, trade-union, and Komsomol organizations, Soviets of People's Deputies, their ispolkoms, commissions on questions of legality and law and order, on cases involving minors, and on the struggle against drunkenness. A great contribution to this work is being made by labor groups and their councils on prevention, the people's voluntary guards, public centers for the maintenance of law and order, comradely courts, and other public formations.

In solving preventive problems, the internal affairs organs actively engage in mutual cooperation with the procurator's office, the organs of justice, the courts, people's control, as well as with the public opinion of the labor groups and at the places where people live.

Crime prevention comprises the principal, leading thrust in the activities of the apparatus of criminal investigation, the BKhSS, investigation, state motor-vehicle inspection, interdepartmental, fire protection, and all the services and sub-divisions of the internal-affairs organs. Operative-service prevention, of course, does not just amount to persuading and providing information. Persons who, despite preventive measures, have not started down the road to correction and who have committed illegal acts must have the law applied to them strictly and inevitably.

Of top-priority importance in a number of preventive measures is the SAFEGUARDING OF SOCIALIST PROPERTY, the interception of infringements on the people's wealth, the squandering of state funds, heading off the abuse of service positions, thievery, and bribe-taking. The party and the state have intensified the struggle against such anti-social phenomena. As Comrade K. U. Chernenko emphasized in a speech to electors, "this is not a temporary campaign. This is a line which will be conducted steadily and unwaveringly."

Particular responsibility for intensifying the struggle against thefts, bribe-taking, and profiteering is borne by the internal-affairs organs, in particular, the BKhSS service. Its activity is being stepped up in order to prevent such crimes in good time, to safeguard the people's wealth from thefts. Also being stepped up is mutual cooperation with the auditing and finance organs, the posts of people's control, and the "Komsomol Searchlight." During the course of discovering and investigating crimes the internal-affairs organs, in accordance with the law, submit ideas to the administrations of enterprises, ministries, and departments with regard to eliminating the shortcomings which have been discovered and on safeguarding socialist property.

Infringements on the people's wealth is frequently engendered by a situation of mis-management, the failure to adopt measures for decisively closing off channels and loopholes for thefts. Many abuses are connected with departures from production technology, the norms of expending raw materials and other materials, the use of outmoded norms, with shortcomings in storage, and a neglect of accounting for material values. The time periods and procedures for conducting audits and inventories are frequently violated, and departmental monitoring controls are conducted at a low level.

Crimes are also facilitated by a manifestation of a lack of high standards and principles in the selection of materially responsible persons, bookkeepers, cashiers, and auditors. Sometimes, as a result of gullibility or a violation of labor legislation, persons with unclean hands acquire access to the people's wealth.

At many enterprises of the food, meat-and-dairy, and other industrial sectors petty thefts are widespread; here and there shoplifters feel free and easy. All this brings about tangible losses for the society.

There is great concern for the safeguarding of goods. For example, the losses from thefts of goods in railroad transport are great. Over the course of a number of years here the guard services have been weakened, many container points and freight yards have not yet been fenced in, nor do they have a through-traffic schedule. The established procedure for accompanying and guarding valuable goods is not always strictly carried out; as much as half of all thefts are committed from unguarded trains and railroad cars.

The padding of accounts of freight hauls in motor-vehicle transport, mismanagement of it [motor-vehicle transport], broken speedometers have created conditions for the theft of fuel and lubricating materials. Over the last seven years the amount of motor-vehicle transport in personal use has grown by a factor of 2.8, while the sale of gasoline to its owners through the trade network has increased only by a factor of 1.2. It is understood that illegal sources of obtaining gasoline are widely used. In connection with this, the administrative and criminal responsibility for squandering fuel have been increased. The struggle against such phenomena on the part of the internal-affairs organs has been stepped up.

In order to place reliable impediments to thefts, we need to create an atmosphere of intolerance toward such phenomena in the labor groups. The responsibility of the supervisors also has a great role to play here. The decree of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, and the AUCCTU on strengthening socialist labor discipline pointed out that the inability of a supervisor to ensure the proper order in the section entrusted to him must be regarded as incommensurate with the position which he occupies. It is all the more intolerable when certain supervisors confuse their own pockets with those of the state and abuse their service positions.

An inalienable element in the Soviet way of life is an EXEMPLARY PUBLIC ORDER. Ensuring such order in cities, villages, and on transport mainlines is an important thrust of law-enforcement work. Soviet people decisively condemn instances of hooliganism and drunkenness, as well as violations of public order.

An Effective Force for Preventing Crimes

An important role in combatting this evil is played by the patrol-post and on-duty services of the police. The USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs is devoting unflagging attention to improving them and to furnishing them with the means of transport and communication. The number of police details and those of voluntary militia has been increased for the evening and nighttime periods, especially in places of mass rest and recreation for working people. The possibilities for citizens to call the police by telephone have been significantly expanded; areas in stations and suburban trains are being equipped with call-in facilities. The service instruction of policemen is being upgraded, and their operational effectiveness and professional standards are being raised. An obligatory condition for the reliable safeguarding of public order is the BROAD PARTICIPATION OF THE WORKING PEOPLE in this public cause. V. I. Lenin pointed out that every Soviet citizen should participate in discussing the laws of the state and in implementing them; he emphasized the need to teach the working people "to struggle WITH HIGH STANDARDS for legality," "to work unceasingly on creating discipline and self-discipline, on strengthening good organization and order everywhere and thoroughly" (see Vol 36, pp 80, 157; Vol 44, p 465).

In the process of carrying out the Leninist ideas, the party uses all measures to develop the participation of the working people in strengthening law and order. Soviet people make extensive use of their constitutional right and obligation to demand the observance of legal norms, to intercept crimes, to see to it that the principles of social justice are unwaveringly observed everywhere and in everything, principles which form the very foundation of the Soviet system. Herein their active civic position is implemented, their intolerance with regard to negative phenomena, the antipodes of socialist morality.

Of course, for strengthening public order, for reliably ensuring the tranquility and personal safety of the citizens, the party and the government hold strictly accountable, above all, those to whom this responsible matter has been entrusted--the organs of the police, the courts, and the procurator's offices. But, as was noted at the June (1983) Plenum of the Central Committee, our public opinion likewise cannot stand on the sidelines with regard to law and order.

A good school of civic-mindedness, indoctrination with an active, vital viewpoint, and a highly conscientious attitude toward the support of law and order as well as crime prevention is constituted by the volunteer people's guards (DND). Created upon the initiative of advanced workers' groups, they have become a factor of great indoctrinational strength and a warning influence precisely on those persons who show disrespect for the rules of socialist communal living. Some 282,000 voluntary guards units combine within their ranks approximately 13 million volunteer guards, many of whom are Communists or Komsomol members. Every day 400,000 volunteer guards go out to maintain public order on the streets, transport mainlines, and places where working people spend time in rest and recreation.

Directed by the Soviets of People's Deputies, the volunteer guards conduct active indoctrinational-preventive work in residential micro-districts and labor groups, as well as communal dormitories; they cooperate closely with the law-enforcement organs in the struggle to safeguard socialist property, against profiteering and poaching, as well as drunkenness, hooliganism, and parasitism. They play a large role in preventing crime among minors, ensuring the safety of road traffic, and in the legal indoctrination of the population. The work of many volunteer guards units has deservedly won the respect of working people.

The DND staffs cooperate on a day-to-day basis with the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Joint patrols of policemen and volunteer guardsmen have been organized. This is preceded by very careful instructions to the guardsmen by the supervisory officials of the ispolkoms and internal-affairs organs.

Specialized volunteer guards have manifested themselves actively. With their aid quite a few economic crimes have been discovered and eliminated, while measures have been taken to intercept violations of trade regulations and profiteering. Operational Komsomol detachments of the DND have become an effective form of participation for Komsomol members in crime prevention among youths and adolescents.

In connection with the 25th anniversary of the DND, for meritorious services in safeguarding the public order and active participation in the fight against crime, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet awarded USSR orders and medals to 175 volunteer guardsmen. The Order of the Red Banner of Labor was awarded to the following veteran-volunteer guardsmen: M. Z. Veretyokhin, deputy chief of staff of the DND, member of the partkom at the Leningrad Bolshevik Plant, and personnel worker, V. G. Lavrinenko, a lathe-operator at the Volgograd Ship-building Plant, N. A. Batishchev, a fitter at the Moscow Automatic-Line Plant imeni 50th Anniversary of the USSR, and V. S. Gvozdev, an assistant foreman at the Engels Khimvolokno Production Association. More than 7,000 activists were awarded medals entitled "For Outstanding Service in Safeguarding Public Order" and Certificates of Honor.

The CPSU Central Committee has mandated the party and Soviet organs to ensure further expansion of the participation by working people in safeguarding the public order and socialist property, in carrying out measures with regard to the organizational strengthening of the people's volunteer guards. The internal-affairs organs see their own task as developing and improving the forms of cooperation with the volunteer guards, disseminating the advanced experience of the best DND's and guardsmen. Constant and mutual cooperation, the rendering of necessary aid to the DND, has become part of the duty for all supervisors of the services of the Ministry of Internal Affairs organs, as well as the sectional police inspectors. In each internal-affairs organ certain staff members are singled out for dealing directly with questions of cooperation with the DND staffs. In the legal indoctrination and training of guardsmen more extensive use should be made of the possibilities of the faculties of the legal sciences at people's universities, specialized seminars, and lecture halls. At the classes within the network of party education it would also be desirable to reflect more fully the practice of law enforcement.

At the sessions of many local Soviets and at those of ispolkoms it has become a rule to discuss the status and measures with regard to strengthening law and order, as well as legality, reports by the supervisors of enterprises and institutions, internal-affairs organs, sectional police inspectors on strengthening public order and discipline, as well as safeguarding socialist property. Such practice is being further developed.

Unification of the efforts of the state organs and public organizations, labor groups, ideological institutions, the family, and the school in crime prevention is facilitated by the development of COMPREHENSIVE MEASURES OF PREVENTION in close coordination with the plans for the socio-economic development of the city and the rayon. The decree of the CPSU Central Committee entitled "On Improving Work with regard to Safeguarding Law and Order and Intensifying the Fight against Crime" (1979) recognized the necessity for such measures to be provided as well in the operational plans of the party organizations with respect to the communist indoctrination of the working people.

The Moscow CPSU Obkom adopted a comprehensive plan of crime prevention for the years 1984--1985 and proposed that similar plans be worked out in the oblast's cities and rayons. They provide for the activation of the efforts of party and Soviet organs, trade-union and Komsomol organizations, volunteer public formations in strengthening law and order and legality. Under unslacking

party control is the activity of the councils on prevention of labor groups, the DND, and the public centers for maintaining order. A great deal of attention is paid to the prevention of thefts, parasitism, and drunkenness.

The exemplary conduct of a person in everyday life and public places is organically linked with the high standards of his work in production. It is scarcely necessary to demonstrate that the labor group has at its disposal a large arsenal of means of ideological-political, moral, and, in necessary cases, even material influence to deter persons from violating discipline and deal strictly with those who do not observe the law.

The metallurgists of the Severskiy Pipe Plant in Sverdlovsk Oblast on their own initiative fulfilled the conditions of a brigade detachment of collective moral and material responsibility for the discipline of each member of the group. Life has confirmed the efficacy of this beginning by the Urals workers.

In the Far Eastern port city of Nakhodka the CPSU gorkom daily directs the activity of all units connected with the struggle to strengthen public discipline and order. The labor group is at the center of attention. The brigade forms of labor organization and wages allow us to objectively and exactly evaluate the labor contribution, quality of discipline, and moral features of each worker. In the groups at the Commercial, Easter, and Fishing ports, as well as those at the Nakhodka Ship-Repair Plant and other enterprises, there are quite a few brigades and sections where violations of order have become rare phenomena.

The internal-affairs organs in crime prevention rely extensively on the force and authority of the public opinion of labor groups and their PREVENTION COUNCILS. The supervisors of the internal-affairs organs, section inspectors, and staff members of the police services regularly speak at the groups of enterprises, institutions, report on their work, and hold council with the working people. Unfortunately, the group does not always react to the information provided by the internal-affairs organs in the way that it should; often the discussion about those who violate the public order is of a merely formal nature. At a number of enterprises specific manifestations of hooliganism and drunkenness are discussed in only 50--70 percent of the cases. Rarely used are such measures of influencing violators as, for example, deprivation of bonus payments or changing the calendar time period for granting vacation leave. The presence of legal violations is not always taken into account in summing up the results of a socialist competition, especially in construction, lumbering, and motor-vehicle transport organizations. The interests of the cause require that such shortcomings be overcome.

Quite a bit has been done to strengthen law and order in the residential sector by the PUBLIC CENTERS FOR MAINTAINING ORDER. Approximately 50,000 of them have been set up in cities and villages. The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet in its Model Statute on Public Centers for Maintaining Order assigned to the ispolkoms of the local Soviets the task of coordinating and supervising their work, as well as that of disseminating positive experience. In ensuring law and order, the public centers combine the efforts of the DND, the comradely courts, housing organs, and the sectional police inspectors.

In the city of Dzerzhinsk (Gorkiy Oblast) a system of crime prevention has been set up with great care. These problems are regularly examined at the CPSU gor-kom buro, the gorsovet ispolkom, and the party organizations of the labor groups. The secretaries of the party organizations sponsoring the enterprises at the centers for maintaining order are in charge of the public-opinion councils coordinating the activities of the volunteer guards, the comradely courts, and activists who work with adolescents, as well as the activities of other self-help organizations. The municipal staff of the DNB is active in its operations.

An important role in maintaining public order at places of residences is played by the SECTIONAL POLICE INSPECTORS. They are called upon to maintain control over the places where crimes are most likely to occur and the persons most prone to this. The purview of their everyday attention must include persons who are not working, those who mis-use alcohol, those who have been previously convicted, troubled families, and difficult adolescents.

A high degree of professional authority, the help of public opinion and labor groups, and skillful preventive work allow many of the sectional inspectors of the Moskovskiy Rayon of Kiev, Kursk Oblast, and the city of Salavat (in Bashkiria) to maintain a reliable public order within their territories. With regard to work results over a number of years, the best sectional inspector in the Altay Kray is Police Captain Ye. Ya. Sukhachev of the Veseloyarskiy Settlement Division. Relying on his activists, he wages an implacable struggle against crime, reacting effectively to every such instance. Individual measures of influence and indoctrination are skillfully applied to adolescents and to troubled families. The sectional inspector enjoys the respect and support of the population. There are quite a few such sectional inspectors in the rural areas.

In this country there are thousands of such rural populated points where no crimes have been committed for many years. In a number of oblasts in the Ukraine and Belorussia rural assemblies actively influence parasites, drunkards, and persons who have committed petty thefts. In Transcaucasia and Central Asia the authority of the elders is high in preventing crimes. In Daghestan councils of elders function in every village Soviet; the veterans of labor and war exert a positive influence on violators, helping them to straighten themselves out.

The internal-affairs organs are stepping up their STRUGGLE AGAINST DRUNKENNESS. Within the medical sobering-up stations preventive offices have been set up, and the compulsory treatment of habitual drunkards is carried out in treatment-and-labor preventive facilities. Speaking frankly, however, the effectiveness of struggling against this evil is still insufficient; we need permanent, comprehensive measures of a socio-economic, cultural-indoctrinational, and medical nature, plus a skillful utilization of both the force of the law and of public opinion.

As is known, there are no single-type prescriptions for eradicating drunkenness. The press has reported on the experience in preventing drunkenness in the city of Azov. Here, in fact, a unity in the efforts of public opinion, economic, and law-enforcement organs, medical and cultural-educational institutions has been achieved. Practical experience testifies to the good results

obtained by a voluntary treatment of alcoholism in combination with productive labor in narcotics divisions created at major enterprises. Such divisions have given a good account of themselves at the Plant imeni Lenin and at a number of other plants--the Cherepovetskiy Metallurgical Plant, the Voronezh Zernomash, and the Dinasov Plant in Pervoural'sk. Unfortunately, these services have developed too slowly. The opinion of the commissions of the local Soviet ispolkoms with regard to the struggle against drunkenness should be more substantial in solving these problems.

Of program importance for further IMPROVING THE IDEOLOGICAL-MORAL AND LEGAL INDOCTRINATION OF THE RISING GENERATION are the decisions of the April Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the "Basic Directions of the Reform of the General-Educational and Vocational School," as approved by the Plenum and the USSR Supreme Soviet after a nationwide discussion.

During recent years, thanks to the work being conducted by the party and Soviet organs, as well as the public organizations, violations committed by adolescents are decreasing. Each such case, however, must give cause for alarm. We must in good time discover and eliminate those causes and conditions which might lead a young person into violating the law, to warn him in time against taking a false step, and to inoculate him with a permanent immunity against views and morals which are alien to us. Particularly dangerous are a lack of supervision of adolescents and their lack of employment at a worthwhile task, factors which frequently grow into crimes. A negative influence is exerted on adolescents by the drunkenness of parents and by all sorts of amoral "authorities." In order to neutralize such influences, it is necessary to have a unity of family and social indoctrination, the coordinated efforts of all educational organizations and institutions so that adolescents, who are particularly in need of heightened attention, do not remain outside their field of vision. A great role must be played by the school, its pedagogical and Komsomol groups, in working with the adolescents of a micro-district. By way of solving this problem, the school is confronted with educational reform among its important problems.

Further efforts are necessary for raising the pedagogical standards of parents. The requirements of the law must be fully carried out concerning the responsibility of parents who do not perform their duties to society and their children. Such measures are often adopted too late.

The inspectorates on juvenile cases and the sectional police inspectors are called upon to discover in time troubled families, groups of adolescents with negative behavioral trends, adult instigators of crimes, and, with the aid of public opinion, reliably guard children against negative influences. There are still quite a few shortcomings in this work. In a number of places only one out of four adolescents who have been worked with by the inspectorates have a public guardian or sponsor.

Unfortunately, not all young persons have been drawn into sports activities, technical, or other creative do-it-yourself activities. Many of the "difficult" adolescents have been given over to the influence of the street. References to the weakness of the material base, to the shortage of pedagogical experts for such classes, are invalid. The large funds which have been

allocated by the state for this work are not always utilized effectively.

Everywhere there is a genuine possibility to draw into working with children persons who are genuinely enthusiastic for this cause, personnel production workers, experts, Komsomol members, and student youth, Makarenko detachments from the pedagogical VUZ's, athletes, enthusiasts capable of conducting this work steadily and who are eager to exert their influence on each "difficult" adolescent.

Party committees and local Soviets, in directing their multi-faceted activities with regard to strengthening socialist legality and law and order, as well as state, labor, and social discipline, make extensive use of the rich experience of crime prevention; they make high demands on the activities of Soviet police, on strengthening its ties and interactions with public opinion and with labor groups. Widespread participation of working people in maintaining law and order and in crime prevention is an important condition for the successful solution of the problems of improving developed socialism.

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2384

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NATIONAL

ALL-UNION CONFERENCE STUDIES REORGANIZATION OF LIBRARY RESOURCES

Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 27 Apr 84 p 2

/Text/ An All-Union conference-seminar of book trade workers is now taking place in Tallinn to discuss increased book reserve acquisition by libraries.

The resolution of the CPSU Central Committee "On increasing the role of libraries in the communist education of workers and in scientific and technical progress" was adopted 10 years ago. The Tallinn conference is summarizing the efforts made during this period in book reserve acquisition, and is drafting future tasks in connection with the recently approved ukase of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, "Statute on the library system in the USSR," which has been enacted into law by a session of the Supreme Soviet.

The enormous scale of our nation's economic development, the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution, the steady rise in the level of education and culture of the Soviet people--all of this demands the increased participation of libraries in the life of Soviet society.

The new "Statute" is a document of great social and socio-political import. We asked the head of the Library Affairs Administration of the USSR Ministry of Culture, Valentin Stepanovich Lesokhin, to comment upon its salient positions.

There are some 330,000 libraries in our nation containing 5 billion volumes. More than 220 million Soviet citizens utilize this resource. Today libraries are important foundations of party organizations for the communist education of workers and the vital familiarization of large parts of the population with the achievements of Soviet and world culture. The assistance provided by the libraries to scientific and technical progress and their contribution to manufacturing material basis of our evolved socialist society increase every year.

However, there exist a number of tasks and unsolved problems in the libraries that hinder the effective tapping of their tremendous wealth of information for the interests of communist progress.

The "Statute" first of all clearly formulates all of the primary duties and functions of the libraries in facilitating the development of an advanced socialism, and also the rights and obligations of readers. This legal document consolidates the definition of the fundamental organizational principles of a national library system. This definition calls for the unification of the nation's libraries into a single, integrated system, the systematic development of a library network, their optimal location, the state-administered training of cadres of library workers, complete accessibility and free entrance, and the participation in their operation of labor collectives, social organizations and citizens.

At the present, the libraries come under the authority of more than 100 ministries, departments and social organizations, resulting in their inconvenient location, duplication of functions, and unnecessary expenditures. The "Statute" contains specific proposals and recommendations directed at the state administration of the library system, and the centralized monitoring of the libraries' activities.

There is every reason to suppose that the approval of the "Statute" will increase acquisition considerably, by means of a single state library reserve, and facilitate its utilization and preservation.

It is important to note, first of all, that libraries will be given first priority in the acquisition of literature. Thus publishers when deciding their production volume, will have to consider the libraries' consumption. One more complex question arises on the agenda for the present: the preservation of existing book reserves. The unified library reserve for the nation is state property and under state protection. In connection with this, the "Statute" provides for measures that increase responsibility for damage and loss, both on the part of the readers and by library workers.

Penalties assessed upon readers for unreturned books have been stiffened. Now, if mislaid books cannot be replaced by identical editions or by books of equivalent value, the reader must reimburse the library by ten-fold the value of the book.

The monies collected through such reimbursement will be applied by the library to the supplementation of its book reserve, to its preservation and to the restoration of books.

The complex of topics regulated by the "Statute" touches upon practically all of the most important activities of the library, and a good deal of work in the implementation of the positions contained in the "Statute" stands before us. Member of the USSR Goskomizdat Collegium, chief of the All-Union State "Soyuzkniga" Association, Georgiy Pavlovich Safronov, describes the work of book merchandising organizations in library acquisition, by request of the editors.

The most important task in this past year for publishers has been upholding a steady commitment to meet the volume quotas established by the June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. The Polizdat has completed the publication of a fifth edition of the complete collected works of V. I. Lenin, and has published a number of interesting works that help formalize the scientific Marxist-Leninist world view, and a new series "The Soviet Lifestyle: Its Features, Advantages and Continuation" has appeared. A consortium of publishers has begun publication of the series "USSR--A Brotherhood of Nations."

Two fundamental tasks in the publication of fiction were resolved in this last year. The first was the completion of an assignment originating at the 26th Party Congress regarding the complete satisfaction of the demand for children's literature and fiction. The second task was comprised in the elevation of the artistic and conceptual level of books, and of their binding and printing quality.

Children's literature and fiction comprised 51.4 percent of the total number of books published in 1983. Orders for retail sales and from libraries were nearly completely satisfied for individual editions, primarily of Russian classics: the works of Pushkin, Gogol, Tolstoy, and Chekhov. An integrated program for the publication of fiction and children's literature is presently being developed for the years 1986 through 1990. In connection with this, all affected organizations, including cultural and educational institutions, must carefully review how to most gainfully employ the richest arsenal of spiritual culture contained by our libraries, and which books, either the most often used, or those generally not found in the stocks of libraries, deserve priority in republication.

The growth and utilization of library resources must be constantly monitored. What is the primary task today for the acquisition of literature? The systematic supply of all libraries by a network of collectors, and the familiarization of library workers to the greatest extent possible with publication schedules, in order to anticipate the needs of the readers.

Preliminary orders for literature by libraries must become the basis of the collector's order list.

National and republic library series are published for the priority-basis supply of libraries. Since 1973, 215 million copies of 4,500 titles have been sent to the libraries. These are the best editions of Russian, Soviet and foreign literature. It is interesting to note that the circulation of the "BS" series is 2 to 3 times greater than the average. For this reason the production of special-interest books is increasing, and their distribution is being widened. Still, the production of this series is lagging behind the demand of both libraries and retail book merchants. New ways for satisfying the demand must be found.

A special topic of concern for us are the elementary and trade school libraries, and rural libraries. In order to satisfy the needs of the rural reader, the "Soyuzkniga" VGO, in addition to its "Library Series" of titles, is sending socio-political, popular science, reference, agricultural and fictional literature to the village.

It would be very desirable to undertake the publication of an All-Union continuing subscription library as soon as practical, as an aid to the reader. School reform concerns everyone, and the three-million strong army of readers should make concern over their published material a daily matter.

The public book reserve is our shared wealth. Organizations involved in book commerce are making every effort to assure its proper acquisition.

12678

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NATIONAL

'NEGATIVE INFLUENCES' OF ROCK MUSIC ON YOUTH DEPLORED

Readers' Complaints About Discotheques

Moscow KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 17 Mar 84 p 2

[Article by Ya. Yuferova, referring to that previously published "Why Is the Evening Wasted? Not Only Discotheque Guests Must Ponder This Question"]

[Text] The discotheque, like a lens, has gathered and increased many youth problems in the city of Kanash. They were the subject of the article, "While the Discs Turn", published in KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA, 25 November 1983. Letters and comments about this were sent to the editorial office.

After the publication an answer was promptly received: "For weak leadership of the city's Komsomol organizations' activities in lawful training and prevention of law infringements, in organizations of sapid leisure of minors and youth, the first secretary of the Kanash Gorkom All-Union Komsomol, Comrade L.A. Grigor'yeva, was issued a severe reprimand which was recorded in her registration card of All-Union Komsomol membership."

It might be thought that the editorial office should be satisfied: the Chuvash Obkom criticism of the All-Union Komsomol was accepted as correct; a specific person received a severe reprimand. But Lyudmilla Grigor'yeva was just elected first secretary! We were in tens of organizations together and she entered boldly into witty conversations. To punish a definite person is many times easier than to study the occurrence. We hope that Lyudmilla Grigor'yeva will have sufficient courage, optimism and spirit, as this is no longer her personal affair; she is the leader of thousands of members of city Komsomol organizations.

And now, the essence of the official answer signed by the Obkom All-Union Komsomol secretary, V. Shakin: "The Buro of the Chuvash Obkom and Kanash Gorkom All-Union Komsomol have worked out measures for organizing leisure time of young people. Shortcomings, noted in the article, are being eliminated. Zonal reviews of the second republic review-competition of discotheques have been carried out, training of leaders of disco-clubs has been organized. The complex brigade of the All-Union Komsomol Obkom will be sent to give practical assistance to the Kanash City Komsomol organization."

We shall be grateful if the komsomol Obkom informs the editorial board and readers how the developed measures are helping, because troubling mail continues to come from Kanash. A labor and war veteran, I. Markov, and a master of PTO [Production and Technical Department] station "Kanash", A. Sidyagin, have written about the law infringements among youth; the couples Volkov and Kondratyev, write about leisure problems as defined by the level of culture in the city; a group of elevator workers write about bad management and drunkenness.

From letters to the editor and from meetings in Kanash, it can be judged with certainty that there are enthusiastic, not indifferent and deeply intelligent people in the city. And the buro of the Komsomol, we hope, will be up to the task of discovering such people to direct the energy of their soul, mind and heart against the intoxication of the discotheque, drunkenness and senseless evening loitering. And also the law enforcement organs should take a more uncompromising position.

And now we shall address ourselves directly to readers' comments.

"The country has thousands of discotheques which have become a wonderful place for youth relaxation. Kanash claims to be an exception to this rule," "Kanash is not an exception. I ask you to visit Kuznetsk, Penza Oblast," "Everything written in the article is very similar to our town, Sergach, Gorkiy Oblast. Although we do not have such disgraceful things, still young people have nowhere to go," "We have the same story. Young people from 14 to 28 years old gather at the club. Very often fights occur; drunken youth come to dances. But this does not disturb anyone. Station Chik, Novosibirsk Oblast." More and more new addresses of unfavorable situations: Druzhkovka, Donetsk Oblast; Dneprodzerzhinsk, Dnepropetrovsk Oblast.

Dear readers, we appeal to you with a request: give the addresses of excellent discotheque leisure which are known to you. We will be glad to relate the good experiences on the pages of "Komsomolka".

And now concerning problems reported in letters. V. Sogacheva writes from Konotop: "What is sold in our bar located in the discotheque? Only alcoholic cocktails, vodka from under the counter. Juice and mineral water are only for the "inner people". Imagine, now, a counter in a bar where juice and ice cream could be bought. With what pleasure the girls would accept it! It is not new, that circumstances influence the formation of a person and his behaviour. We create these circumstances. And then complain about disorders."

And one more no less expressive and troubled letter from Voroshilovgrad from a youth frequenter of the cafe, "Arktika", where a discotheque is in operation: "The entrance is strictly three rubles, which includes fruit and cocktails. But the public in 'Arktika' is from 15 to 19 years old. And the administration knows full well that these are school children whom, in fact, they are forcing to drink. It was very entertaining to hear on 31 August the disc jockey congratulate the school children with the beginning of the school year. The celebrants clapped and finished their cocktails..."

In the town Voznesensk, Nikolayevsk Oblast, the cafe, "Yaroslavna", has the same problem... And later we agonize over the puzzle, why is drunkenness growing younger.

These are the kinds of problems brought into focus by the discotheque.

Trading of Discs

Moscow KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 7 Apr 84 p 2

[Article by A. Pavlov, secretary of the Krasnodar Gorkom All-Union Komsomol: "What Is Traded in the "Field"?"--and to this question an answer is sought by the Komsomol Gorkom, while studying and shaping musical tastes of youth]

[Text] As the result of a sociological questionnaire carried out by the All-Union Komsomol Gorkom, the following data was received: practically every young person listens to music, every fifth collects musical recordings or records, each tenth has a personal record collection. Young people prefer to spend their free time at musical evenings and discotheques, with tape recorders and record players.

What do young people listen to during leisure hours? What are the melodies heard at parties for young people and in discotheques? What kind of recordings are added to their musical collections?

In the city there has existed for many years a so-called "field" where great exchanging and trade of records goes on. At the "field" every Sunday gather those who are interested in music and those interested in making money, the "disc-scalpers". The "field" has its own criteria for the value of musical works and also its own pricing--from 15 to 100 rubles per disc. The "field" spontaneously develops musical demands and in the final analysis young people's musical tastes.

The staff of operational Komsomol detachments conducted operation "Disc" which disclosed individuals occupied in the trading and sale of unlicensed discs. Of 536 temporarily withdrawn from the "field", it turned out that only 12 were Soviet, 25 were licensed discs and records produced in socialist countries and the remaining 499--far from the best samples of Western music. Musical experts concluded that not more than 80 are of definite musical and esthetic value.

The rest are low-standard examples of popular bourgeois culture. In content it is propaganda of violence, cruelty, religious obscurantism.

Lately much is being said about the popularity of rock music and even about the "contribution of rock" in the development of musical art. But what about the negative aspects of rock? About its negative influence on the appearance of admirers? The question is not about really talented compositions of the group, but of the huge mass of hack work which has nothing in common with true art. This especially applies to punk-music, the hundreds of primitive groups who have become well-known in the West due to their anti-social trends.

The concerts of the majority of rock groups seldom occur without fights and riots in the hall.

Peter Townsend, a guitarist of the rock group "Who", admits that they "resort to acts of violence on stage so that the audience would feel their music more fully."

Upon examining the social side of the spontaneous "disc-markets", it should be noted that such musical thrift shops exist in many large cities in our country. Definite commercial ties are established between them. Krasnodar residents make their purchases at flea markets in Gorkiy, Volgograd, Dnepropetrovsk, Lvov and Kiev. At times we have "guests" with their goods from Moscow and Leningrad. Not so long ago Komsomol-operatives detained S. Berednik, from Moscow, who was attempting through a figurehead to sell off 38 foreign unlicensed records.

What should be done with people who gather at spontaneous markets? Individuals from them are detained and enlisted for criminal and administrative responsibility, if the fact that speculative sale or trade in an unestablished place was determined.

Mass raids of operational Komsomol detachments do not fully solve the problem: we only expose the individuals, conduct preventive conversations, or apply on All-Union Komsomol members measures of Komsomol pressure. But the "field" has great vitality and continues to exist, and its "authorities" propose moving out of town.

A year ago we established a club for music lovers. The club's main task was to give an organized character to the mass enthusiasm of young people for contemporary music, to actively influence the formation of musical taste. Many of the present active members of the club were formerly habitués of the "fields" at the stadium "Kuban".

After establishing the club we immediately clashed with a problem--what to do with unlicensed discs? In general, is it possible to allow the exchange (or sale) of such records within the club?

In existing situations concerning amateur societies, this question is not examined. But one can find an optimum solution: to define clearly the enumeration of discs of foreign groups and performers, offered for exchanges, and work out a corresponding catalog.

Problem two. The fast pace of development of means of sound recording, the absence of necessary ideological control for the activity of sound-recording studios have led to dissemination among youth of low standard specimens of western pseudo-music.

All who so desire are engaged in sound recording: the associations "Krasnodarkrayfoto", voyentorg [trade enterprise for military personnel], trade union organizations and cultural institutions. As a result of raids by musical patrols it was determined that studios offer primarily all the same foreign products.

The May First Park of Culture and Rest sound recording studio had in its record collection recordings of 162 discs of which only 14 were Soviet. All the rest were Western, the overwhelming part of which were musical rubbish, adopted from unlicensed discs, including groups openly propagandizing the bourgeois way of life.

An analogous situation exists in other studios. And this is not by accident. Not only in sound recording studios but also in higher organizations there are no specialists with musical training or at least having elementary knowledge of foreign music.

The activity of operators who are occupied in the circulation of low standard recordings, fall under articles of the Criminal Code concerning private ownership activity (art. 153) or engaging in forbidden trade (art. 162). Because of this, possibilities of bold and decisive struggle with spreading such "music" exist.

At present the question is of transferring sound recording studios into the system of administration of culture which will consolidate all the studios and will be able to conduct things correctly and competently.

Calling attention to themselves are problems connected with the activity of discotheques. Here is the declaration of a former director of one of the discotheques: "Highest-class in the work of a disc jockey is considered the ability to bring the dancers to a state of ecstasy, which is reached with duly-selected music. I was successful in this, using the recording by the Italian group, 'Santa Esmeralda' in stereophonic sound."

Discotheque managers are sometimes individuals with, to speak frankly, untrained musical taste. Not so long ago I had a conversation with a discotheque manager, O. Sultanov, from the town of Abinsk, who brought for exchange at the music lover's club discs of the groups "Crocus", "Styx", "Sparks", and in his words "good and serious music in demand at disc-parties".

We know along which channels musical rubbish comes to us. The "field" revives in September when foreign students return from vacations, large lots of such records come in through the commercial ports of Novorossiysk and Tuapse.

How can we put a stop to this? With serious, correct, professional work. The need has arisen for creative organizations, cultural institutions, All-Union Komsomol committees, all together, seriously, and with special knowledge of the question to work to educate in youth good musical taste and propaganda of Russian and Soviet music.

12484

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REGIONAL

VAYNO DISCUSSES PRIMARY PARTY ORGANIZATIONS

Tallinn KOMMUNIST ESTONII in Russian No 6, Jun 84 pp 10-18

[Article by Estonian CP CC First Secretary Karl Vayno]

[Text] The concluding stage of the 11th Five-Year Plan has begun, a time when the fate of our plans is being decided and the Soviet people are staunchly working on the implementation of the tasks set forth at the 26th Party Congress. These tasks are large and complicated. Carrying them out will depend to a large extent on the efforts, authority, and fighting efficiency of the party organizations, the ability to raise people up, awaken their initiative and creative energy, and direct their efforts toward accomplishing the assigned goals.

Recent CPSU Central Committee plenums have repeatedly emphasized the necessity of enhancing the role of the primary party organizations. The vital importance of this requirement is convincingly confirmed by all the experience of communist development. K. Marx and F. Engels viewed the lower links of the proletarian party as the center and nucleus of efforts among the working people (see "Soch." [Works], vol 7, p 262). In creating our party, V. I. Lenin pointed out the necessity of seeing to it that the low-level organizations constitute its fundamental organizational cell in deed rather than in words (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 13, p 60).

At the stage of developed socialism, the CPSU's primary organizations, with their broad network of shop organizations and party groups, play an ever-increasing role in implementing the party's policies, in resolving economic, social-political, and educational tasks, linking the party closely with the masses. It is this which manifests the objective logic of our party's growing authority and influence in society.

The increasing role of the primary party organizations is conditioned above all by today's tendencies of our economic development--the urgent necessity of intensifying the economy, accelerating the pace of scientific-technical progress, and making more rational use of material and labor resources, also by the fact that qualitative indicators of the work have been brought to the forefront. The low-level organizations bear responsibility for ensuring that the party's directives concerning the most important problems of our society's development find concrete implementation in the everyday practice of the labor collectives. It is important to instill in every worker a clear understanding of the economic and social-political significance of the results of his labor.

The primary party organizations have at their disposal a whole arsenal of means to influence the labor collectives. They incorporate in their ranks the most conscious portion of the collectives, active people enjoying authority and trust, joined in their unity of purpose and world view, unity of actions. The CPSU Charter confers on them broad powers in implementing the party's policies, and their influence penetrates to the very depths of the working masses.

The Estonian CP now numbers about 105,000 members. A leading place in its social makeup is assigned to the workers, who constitute over 43 percent; workers and kolkhozniks together add up to 55 percent. Moreover, one out of every 10 adult inhabitants of the republic and one out of every eight adults employed in the national economy are party members. By these indicators the republic's party organization has reached the all-party level, and even surpassed it in the sphere of material production.

Drawing on the rich experience of party work, it is essential to raise the efforts of the low-level links of the party to a higher and qualitatively new level. As Comrade K. U. Chernenko emphasized, "It is necessary not only to be able to set the correct goals but also to overcome any difficulties in attaining them. It is essential to evaluate what has been achieved in a realistic manner, neither exaggerating nor underrating it. This is the only approach which will guard against errors in policies, against the temptation to assume that what is wished for is real."

This year, as is well-known, two Estonian CP Central Committee plenums have analyzed the results of last year and the start of this year. Now the primary party organizations must ensure implementation of the plenums' decisions through their organizational, political, and educational efforts.

On the whole, the past economic year was a good one in our republic. In terms of the production of most of the more important kinds of goods, industry achieved the level called for in the five-year plan. The highest increase in production--3.6 percent, or one whole percentage point above the plan, was achieved last year. The entire increase resulted from increased labor productivity along with a certain reduction in the number of workers. Agriculture also developed successfully. Transport began to operate more reliably. Plans for the completion of housing, kindergartens and nurseries, and hospitals and polyclinics were fulfilled.

In general, this year also got off to a good start. The first quarter's plan for sales of industrial goods was overfulfilled. Livestock wintering was generally well-organized. Meat and milk production has surpassed last year's level.

All of this has been achieved largely because communists are involved in the most vital sectors of production and the struggle for the plan, persons who are able to lead the people. Behind all good results, of course, stand the steadfast efforts of the party organizations.

Communists should not, however, stand around admiring their successes, however great they are, speaking only of them. Especially since we still have

shortcomings, and it is on them that we must focus our attention. Consider, for example, unutilized reserves--they are to be found everywhere, considerable ones, only they must be put to work. And the key link, which must be seized in order to turn things around, is energetic, systematic strengthening of discipline, good organization, and order.

The capabilities of the labor collectives are best visible to the primary organizations; they can see reserves, so to speak, from within. And where they not only see them but also do something, success is soon forthcoming. Here is a recent example. Gratifying changes have taken place on Varbola Sovkhoz in Raplaskiy Rayon, which for a long time was one of the laggards. The sovkhoz acquired a new director, N. Aynumyae. He began by conferring with officials of the party organization and other communists who, "seeing from within," helped the new director get to the bottom of things and pointed out the farm's trouble spots: unsatisfactory labor conditions and organization, the shortage of spare parts which resulted in frequent "smoke breaks," and weak discipline. With the firm backing of the sovkhoz's communists, the director assembled the machinery operators before the harvest began and told them: We will guarantee working conditions and organization, but workers must strictly observe discipline; anyone who does not agree with the new order can just leave. The leadership kept its word, the party organization and its low-level links backed them up with organizational work, and as was to be expected, the people responded to this concern with honest labor and staunch discipline.

The Raplaskiy Raykom shares the opinion of Varbola Sovkhoz's management and party organization, namely that just calling for strengthened discipline and order does little good unless the necessary conditions for it are set up. Every time the raykom recommends new leaders and specialists for lagging farms, this is preceded by detailed consultation with those who have been recommended and with party organization secretaries, whose attention is focused on concern for people, combining exactingness with the creation of favorable working conditions.

Lately we have done a great deal to strengthen order and organization. People are noticing with satisfaction that absentees and goof-offs are not being indulged, that there has been a revival of the long-desired, strict and respectful attitude toward work time, every working minute, the kind of respect that is an indispensable part of respect for labor in general. Idleness and absenteeism have declined markedly. This is a good thing. But here are some examples of another type. Last year in the Valga Bakery Products Combine, absenteeism averaged more than 1.5 days per worker. Violations of labor discipline have not declined but increased in the Vyrupribor, Prompribor, and Estrybprom associations, the Vil'yandi Lumber Combine, and certain other enterprises. The question is, Who if not the primary party organizations, above all, should spearhead the most decisive, uncompromising struggle against worktime losses and absenteeism, against those who pander to discipline violators? It must be acknowledged that some of our party organizations, after their first successes, have gradually come to let things slide. This cannot be tolerated. Any campaignism, any momentary expediency acts against the nationwide movement to strengthen discipline and order. It

can be given greater scope if broader use is made of workers' assemblies, people's control posts and groups, brigade leaders' councils, comradely courts, commissions and councils for the prevention of infractions of the law, and all other social formations that have been set up and are functioning in the enterprises and on the farms but which sometimes fail to function with enough vigor.

All of our production collectives face the task of raising labor productivity by 1 percent above the plan and reducing the prime cost by 0.5 percent. This is not an easy task. But it is completely feasible if the whole course of the effort is carefully analyzed in the enterprises and on the farms, if the bottlenecks where the losses occur are detected.

The first quarter's results indicate that in general we have done a pretty good job of fulfilling increased labor productivity plans. With regard to this item, the republic's industry overall exceeded the plan target by 2.3 percent. But the growth could have been even greater if all our enterprises had managed to achieve 1 percent above the plan. Yet 36 enterprises failed to meet the additional target, and nine of those failed to fulfill the labor productivity increase plan at all. Nor did everything turn out as we wished with respect to meeting obligations with regard to reducing the prime cost.

It is essential to see to it that everyone understands very well that every labor collective, without exception, is called upon to ensure successful fulfillment of the party's vital targets with regard to boosting labor productivity and reducing the prime cost. Party organizations are obliged to detect and eliminate anything which hampers this or hinders the productive labor, initiative, and creative thinking of workers and engineering-technical personnel. Party committees and party bureaus must have a clear idea of how, by what means, by what organizational, technological, educational, and other measures it will be possible to ensure fulfillment of these obligations, forestall possible disruptions, and direct the people's energy toward seeking out and utilizing more and more new reserves of production. Every party organization, every labor collective must undertake thoroughly worked out, effective measures to ensure not only fulfillment but also overfulfillment of the targets stipulated for 1984. Practice has shown that where such measures are undertaken, where people act with vigor and know how to focus the efforts of the collective on unresolved problems, the results are substantial.

Let me cite the example of the Krengol'mskaya Manufaktura Combine. The combine's party organization and management found ways to motivate people so that, working under very difficult conditions while remodeling the facility, the collective managed to achieve high results and was a winner in all-union socialist competition, being awarded for last year's results with the challenge Red Banner of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU, and the Komsomol Central Committee. In the Ioala Factory alone more than 140 workers have already completed the 4-year targets, 44 have completed their personal five-year plan, and three leaders--spinners Lyudmila Polyakova, Valentina Illarionova, and Yevgeniya Vyalova--are already working on 1987.

An exceptionally vital prerequisite for production efficiency is compliance with delivery discipline. Not everything is well with us in this regard.

Last year 30 of the republic's enterprises failed to meet their contractual obligations. Total underdeliveries were considerable--almost 32 million rubles.

Production workers frequently complain of the poor work of their suppliers, of delayed deliveries of particular materials. There are, indeed, many shortcomings--in planning, in the organization of material-technical supplies, and in the work of the cooperative enterprises. While criticizing others, however, it is useful sometimes to look at oneself as well, one's own efforts. Those 30 enterprises which failed to meet their contractual obligations, in turn, left their partners in a difficult situation. Thus, mismanagement and inefficiency on the part of some translate into losses for others. This must be kept in mind.

Party organizations can and must do a great deal more to strengthen efforts to save and make thrifty use of material resources, especially to conserve ferrous metals, cement, labor, and gasoline. Strict procedures are necessary here. The struggle for economy is a concrete organizational effort. It is manifested in the broad adoption of cost accounting on all levels, in establishing accurate inventories of resources, in enhancing the role of personal economizing accounts, and in proper moral and material incentives.

One of the most urgent tasks is that of accelerating scientific-technical progress. This is only logical. "It is absolutely essential," Comrade K. U. Chernenko remarked, "that we ensure rapid and steady renovation of all sectors of the national economy on the basis of modern achievements of science and technology. This is one of our key tasks. Without this, society's progress is simply inconceivable." On this basis, party organizations must be more bold and staunch in broaching matters of the adoption of new technologies and promoting the renovation of equipment and enhanced effectiveness of labor of the great army of engineering-technical personnel.

It is the resolution of realistic and concrete matters of this sort that constitutes the practical tasks of the party organizations. What we are saying with respect to the party organizations--enhancing their commitment and militancy, improving the forms and methods of their work--is by no means an end in itself. These are actual ways and means of resolving the economic tasks facing us.

The development of production and the professional, ideological-political, and moral growth of the workers depend to a considerable extent on the spread of collective forms of labor. It is the duty of party organizations in every way to promote the adoption of the brigade contract. It is the brigade which embodies the most favorable conditions for strengthening discipline and good organization, instilling the high sense of responsibility of which we speak so much.

Communists of the Tallinn Residential Construction Combine, for example, are focusing on the development of the integral-process [skovznyy] brigade contract. Adoption of it required strengthened party influence on all sectors of production, restructuring of the forms and methods of the work, and improved deployment of communists in the shops, on the production lines, and in

the brigades. Work on recruitment into the party was improved primarily in those production units where there were few communists or none at all. Communist foremen and works supervisors were included in the brigade party groups. Low-level collectives with functioning party and party-Komsomol groups or party organizers became more numerous. All these measures created the necessary organizational potential for strengthening party influence in the brigades.

Much is also being done in other collectives to develop and spread progressive forms of organization of labor. At present about 55 percent of the workers in our republic belong to brigades, the total number of which exceeds 18,000. On the whole, excellent results have been achieved, but does this mean that all problems are solved? Not at all. Consider, for example, the labor participation coefficient. A total of 3,300 brigades now apply it in their work, but experience has shown that there are many who have not grasped its essence, and therefore this new indicator loses its real meaning.

There are still a number of enterprises in which the brigade form of labor is viewed with distrust, people either cannot or do not want to assess its virtues and advantages, and in some places it simply has not met expectations. Especially where the brigades have been set up hastily, without being thought through and without preparing the necessary conditions. We don't have time to wait until the progressive form reveals its potential automatically, by itself. To ensure that the brigade form yields as much as possible, every enterprise must get busy and get to work. Again, the party and trade union organizations are called upon to play their part.

Nor should it be necessary to argue how important it is to more vigorously spread the brigade contract in agriculture. The experience of many collectives working on a contract basis in the country and in our republic shows convincingly that, all else being equal, they produce 20 to 30 percent more end product than other ones do. So that the efforts expended on setting up contract brigades pay for themselves many times over. Under the collective contract, the farm worker is directly interested in the end results of his work, thus enhancing his responsibility.

The December 1983 and February 1984 CPSU Central Committee plenums raised the urgent matter of improving the production of consumer goods. The consumer's market is different now than it was, say, 10 to 15 years ago. Things which then sold out quickly no longer satisfy people. What the customers want is not just any goods--we have plenty of them--but items matching the spirit of the times, people's needs and desires. In other words, it is no longer so much a matter of the quantity as it is the quality and newness of goods.

Meanwhile, the output of obsolete goods that are not in demand continues at the old pace, as is attested by data from Gosstandart and the State Inspectorate for Trade and Quality. Where do low-quality goods come from? Some workers have failed to think everything through in working out models and assortments; others have failed to deliver materials and supplies of the necessary quality; still others have produced goods that violate technological standards. And all these shortcomings and failures accumulate to

affect quality. Again, as we see, everything depends on a conscientious, responsible attitude.

In order to promote fuller satisfaction of the public's needs, it is essential to broaden the development of business collaboration between industrial, trade, and transport enterprises, to conduct a vigorous search for new and effective forms of competition. The positive experience accumulated in the country must be passed around more vigorously. For example, it is worthwhile to borrow from our Belorussian friends the practice of drawing up contracts between industrial and trade enterprises for the joint study of consumer demand; from the Chelyabinsk people the experience of organizing excellent-quality integral-process brigades; and from our neighbors in Leningrad the interesting form of work in which the party buros of trade and industrial enterprises hold joint meetings to deal with common problems of satisfying the public's needs.

The primary party organizations are responsible to the party for all sectors of the works of the labor collective, especially economic and social development and enhancing the effectiveness and intensification of production. Hence the vital importance of precisely functioning party control. The party organizations are obliged to systematically monitor the administration's activities particularly with regard to carrying out the economic and political tasks as well as yearly and five-year plans decreed by the 26th CPSU Congress. This monitoring must be conducted in a goal-oriented and vigorous manner, on the basis of the urgent problems facing the given collective.

How do things stand in practice? Experience shows that some of our party organizations still lack the necessary sense of party principles and exactingness. In some cases they try not to notice errors and oversights by economic executives; they do not want to spoil relations or quarrel with them, and will not correct them. This kind of complaisance, obviously, is to the liking of some executives, but does it benefit matters? The point, of course, is not to clash with the management; the point is to monitor the administration skillfully and tactfully, and at the same time to provide real help.

It may seem at first glance that the management of the Kekhtna Base Show Sovkhoz-Technicum has a hard time getting along with Arnold' Oyasalu, the secretary of the party organization. Indeed, he is a principled party leader who is able always, even in the most trying circumstances, to determine the correct party line, if necessary to argue with the director and express the party members' opinion. His position brings undoubted benefits, and the management deals with it in an understanding way. When dealings proceed in this manner, the party organization's influence on the affairs of the collective is felt most precisely. Equally as firm, party-minded and principled are the actions of Yekaterina Filatova, secretary of the party committee of the Baltiyskaya Manufaktura Combine, Yaan Tasane, secretary of the party organization of the Vyandra Sovkhoz, and many other secretaries--people of authority who are wise with the experience of life.

A circumstance of lack of control is always fraught with undesirable consequences. Proof of this is seen in the fact that in the past 3 years we have

had to dismiss the directors of two enterprises--the Eesti Kaabel' Plant and the Tartu Residential Construction Combine. They failed to measure up as economic executives and were not able to do the job they were assigned. But if we look facts in the face, a certain amount of the blame also goes to the party organizations which failed to straighten these managers out, failed to show them the right path. And no one benefits when economic executives have to be punished for various abuses. And it was for abuses of her position and for major figure-padding and theft that V. Davidenko, the former director of the Kokhtla-Yarve House of Trade, was expelled from the party and prosecuted. And she also got some of her subordinates, including party members, involved in criminal actions. And where, one wonders, was the party buro, why was the secretary silent?

Incidentally, an analysis of a number of personnel cases examined in the Estonian CP Central Committee and in the various gorkoms and raykoms shows that often they are not brought up at the initiative of the party organization but on the basis of signals from rank-and-file workers, sometimes not even party members, or on the basis of check-ups by control organs. But who if not the party organization secretaries should be the first to restrain someone who has overstepped the bounds and point out his errors before things go too far?

This kind of timidity, when it is necessary to manifest elementary exactingness, does not do credit to the party organization. Communists do not have the right to stand aside, to tolerate people who declaim loudly about principles from the speaker's stand but in real life act just the opposite, utilizing their position for personal gain and manifesting immodesty and arrogance. Each such case should be evaluated in a principled manner by the party organization. "In work with cadres more than anywhere else," Comrade K. U. Chernenko remarked at the April 1984 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, "a precise, well-considered system is essential." If such a system functioned everywhere, we would not have occasion to speak of officials who had proved unworthy of their trust.

Especially high standards are imposed on the party organization secretaries themselves. They are always in the public eye. People emulate them and consult with them; the authority of communists in the collective is judged according to them. Naturally, every secretary must himself serve as an example of high responsibility and party principles, creativity, spiritual purity, and self-discipline.

There are many party organization secretaries who are well-known in our republic. The following have earned universal admiration and respect by their noble labor and profound dedication to the cause: Hero of Socialist Labor Leyda Vinkel', party organization secretary of the Aravete Kolkhoz; Hero of Socialist Labor Anna Yushkina, leader of the communists in the Valga Refrigerator Depot; August Kondoya, the party committee secretary of the Vinni Base Show Sovkhoz-Technicum and winner of the Order of Lenin, Order of the Friendship of Peoples, Order of the Red Star, and many medals; Khel'yu Ul'vik, party committee secretary of the Norma Production Association; winner of the Order of Labor Red Banner Kheyvi Pluoya, party organization secretary

of the Karksi Kolkhoz, who has been awarded the Order of the Friendship of Peoples and the Badge of Honor; Vladimir Sen'kiv, the communist leader of the Estonslanets Production Association which is famed not only in our republic but also outside; and Erni Prits, party buro secretary of the Kalev Mill, who has been awarded two Badges of Honor. One could name many other remarkable party leaders who have by their deeds shown an ability to rally and lead party members. In short, we have built up excellent cadres of party organization secretaries.

Almost one-half of the party organizations in our republic are small in membership. Their activities, range of duties, and problems are confined within the bounds of a small collective. Nevertheless, their work is extremely important. For they function in the kinds of collectives--schools, hospitals and polyclinics, cultural-educational and performing institutions, and enterprises of trade and public catering--which by virtue of their specific nature and the character of their work have more numerous and more frequent dealings with people. Any oversight, any mistake has a direct impact on the interests of the working people, the public, affecting the mood and working abilities of a large number of people. At the same time, it is these collectives which are most often rife with immature judgments and the spread of various kinds of rumors and falsehoods; naturally, this can hardly fail to be reflected in their psychological climate.

There are those who are of the opinion that collectives in which there are few communists lack the forces necessary to resolve many problems. This is wrong. A small membership does not mean a weak membership. Moreover, we are systematically striving to reinforce the smaller party organizations. Special attention was focused on them during the report and election campaign. And we are strengthening them with more than just people. It has become the rule that on unified political days and during other events, leading party and soviet workers of the republic, cities, and rayons, our most experienced lecturers, are obliged at least once a month to visit not only the large but also the small collectives. Direct, open conversations with people, without "smoothing off the rough edges," backed up by the appropriate organizational work, helped to find on-the-spot solutions to many problems and have a marked effect on the labor and moral atmosphere in such collectives.

Party organizations in the schools need constant attention. It is their duty to educate the younger generation, to prepare it for independent life and labor. Proof of the party's concern for the development of Soviet schools is seen in the decisions of the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, preparation for the reform of the general-educational and trade schools, and nationwide discussion of the project. In April the CPSU Central Committee plenum approved the Basic Guidelines for the Reform of the General-Education and Trade Schools, and a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted them. "Now," Comrade K. U. Chernenko emphasized at the plenum, "we have to think about how the ideas of the reform are to be fully implemented and not just left on paper. The main thing is to provide a firm material and organizational base for the whole effort of transforming the schools. There are many things to be taken care of--restructuring the educational process and organizing pupils' labor, ensuring order in the operation of children's homes and boarding schools, and improving the standard of living of the teachers."

It is perfectly clear that the efforts of society and each party organization must be directed toward ensuring that young people become directly involved as early as possible in our overall struggle to enhance the effectiveness of the economy, that they gain a correct understanding of the nature of the social-political processes taking place in the world and be able to find their place in the fierce class conflict on whose outcome the fate of mankind depends. School affairs must become the vital business of every labor collective, every leader of an enterprise, kolkhoz, institution, ministry, department, or social organization, and all parents--such is the task that the CPSU Central Committee has set before us.

Let us look at school problems from the standpoint, for example, of today's village. And we will see that along with medical institutions, houses of culture, and trade and consumer service enterprises the school and the kindergarten are vital factors in the social development of the modern village. A good school is a powerful factor when parents choose where they want to live and work. Links to the earth, his home, and the school he went to and where his children now go are no less important to a man than, for example, the size of his wage and dwelling. Without such a school, the attraction is not there, and a man begins to think of perhaps moving elsewhere. Those who attempt to bring schools and kindergartens as close as possible to villagers' place of residence are doing the right thing. Good examples of this are seen on 9 Maya Kolkhoz in Paydeskiy Rayon, Valtu Kolkhoz in Raplaskiy, and Layuze Kolkhoz in Yygevaskiy Rayon, where they have built excellent modern school buildings and thereby not only prevented an outflow of the population from the village but also done a good service in the farm's development. Efforts along these lines should be continued actively.

Today the schools await the labor collectives' direct aid in bringing up young people, getting them involved in the labor and social life of the base enterprise or farm, focusing more attention on the family, exercising an influence on parents so that they will have a sense of their responsibility to society with regard to what kind of children they bring up. It would not be a bad idea to hold meetings with the agenda "Communist and Family" in the party organizations of enterprises, farms, and institutions. In all these matters, party organizations should manifest more initiative, commitment, and steadfastness.

Considerable responsibility is borne by communists in the creative unions and cultural institutions--the fighting vanguard of our artistic intelligentsia. The work of the party organizations of the creative unions is actively participated in by Estonian SSR People's Writers Paul' Kuusberg, Aadu Khint, and Debora Vaarandi, USSR People's Artists Kaarel Ird, Margarita Voytes, Eugen Kapp, Tiyu Randviyr, and Khendrik Krumm, leaders of our republic's creative unions Vladimir Beekman, Kal'yo Kiysk, Ilmar Torn, and Yaan Ryaets, and many other masters of the arts who are well-known, loved and respected both in our republic and outside. These are people of remarkable talent and an active civic stance. By their creativity they serve the party's cause, setting a worthy example to gifted young artists and devoting much energy to the task of solidly and artistically revealing the profound processes taking place today in our society. This effort is especially vital today, given the sharp

worsening in the ideological struggle in the world arena, which in recent times has taken on the character of a truly global psychological war. We cannot, moreover, ignore the blatantly anti-Soviet course of American imperialism.

The imperialist propaganda machine is operating full force. The ideologues of anticommunism have armed themselves with all manner of lying concoctions and are resorting to all kinds of distortion of the facts in order to discredit us and slander the practical activities of our party and its domestic and foreign policies. Our ideological adversary's offensive and the density of the fire of his propaganda centers are especially focused on the western borders of the country, in the Baltic region and in our republic. The primary party organizations, in whatever sector or sphere of production they operate, cannot fail to deal with this. It must always be kept in mind that the main obligation of any party organization is the indoctrination of people, for the party, in dealing with a multitude of tasks, whether economic or cultural, always acts through people. This is why questions of indoctrination occupy a crucial place in the life of every party organization. Neither time nor effort must be spared. It is essential to react quickly to any manifestations of hostile ideology and vigorously fight against moods of consumerism and dependency, against those who foment malicious rumors to poison people's minds and souls. Communists have no right to remain indifferent to politically immature judgments and views that are sometimes expressed under the influence of the bourgeois ideology that seeps in. Party organizations, communists, must take a principled position here.

Work with young people is a most responsible matter. As is well-known, the fervor, directness, and moral maximalism that characterize young people can, among some young men and women, be combined also with political naivete, and their lack of experience sometimes leads to the choice of false guidelines in life. But are we always aware of this? Don't we sometimes alienate them by excessive categoricity, worn-out cliches, or--even worse--talking down to them?

There are some among our officials who, on unified political days, attempt to avoid speaking to young audiences. It's not difficult to guess why. Because here more than anywhere else it is necessary, in order to inspire, to be inspired oneself, to reveal oneself fully. This is being done regularly, in the schools and trade-technical schools, before student audiences in Tartu, by people like Estonian CP Central Committee Buro Candidate Member Indrek Toome, Tartu State University Rector Arnol'd Koop, professors Ivan Volkov and Yaan Rebane, and instrument-building plant director Aksel' Kangro, among others.

Incidentally, the system now functioning in this, the youngest city in the republic, for indoctrinating pupils, students, and young workers with political culture deserves serious attention. It is effective precisely because it has been set up on a substantial basis, enlisting the most authoritative and erudite people, and constantly verified through feedback--thoughtful analysis of listeners' reactions, questions, and suggestions, the findings of sociological surveys.

The CPSU Central Committee decree "The Main Results of Reports and Elections in the Party and Tasks of the Party Organizations" emphasizes that it is the duty of the party organizations to structure ideological work on a profound theoretical basis, closely coordinated with the handling of concrete production and educational tasks, to enhance the responsibility of leadership cadres and all communists for the political-moral condition of the labor collectives. It must be kept in mind, moreover, that counterpropaganda work is the business not only of the upper-level party organs but also each primary party organization, every low-level link.

All of the tasks examined above can be dealt with successfully only if party organizations constantly perfect their efforts and establish order in all aspects of their work. As the above-mentioned CPSU Central Committee decree points out, the party organizations must unswervingly emulate the Leninist style and gain a profound understanding that mastering it is an indispensable condition for further progress in strengthening ties between the party and the masses.

The decisions of the February and April 1984 CPSU Central Committee plenums attach vital importance to the ability to work in the new way. What does this mean in regard to party work? After all, people were doing a great deal of work before, sparing no effort and energy. But today, working in the old way no longer suffices. What is needed is a different, more modern approach to matters. Above all it is necessary to more precisely delineate the functions of the party committees from the tasks of the state and economic organs, to eliminate duplication in their effort. There are those who erroneously assume that this applies only to the raykoms and gorkoms, ministries and departments. Not at all--the delineation of functions applies directly to the primary party organizations as well.

Consider this example. The party committee of the Vinni Base Show Sovkhoz-Technicum interacts very well with the management in cadre matters as well as other questions of the farm's operation. The party committee does not interfere in the functions of the production workers but supervises the farm using party methods. The party organization helps the management to develop initiative and a sense of responsibility, a spirit of self-criticism, the ability and effort to work with people. The party committee secretary refrains from bossing the specialists, dealing with them carefully, respectfully, yet always manifesting exactingness and high principles.

But interactions are not structured everywhere as they are on the Vinni Sovkhoz. Frequently the decisions of party buros and party assemblies bristle with such expressions as: Direct the shop chief, for example, or the head of the livestock section or supply division to do thus-and-such....(some concrete production or supply problem of the moment is noted). Naturally, there is a great temptation to think that once the item has been specifically noted the problem is solved. The question, however, is this: Why didn't the administration--those whose job it is--call the negligent person to account earlier? Perhaps the party organization should deal primarily with that--calling strictly to account rather than solving the matter for

them. For the party organization to be involved with management means primarily to be involved with the people who are running the operation. This is the principle by which we should be guided.

It is necessary to rely more on the aktiv. There are 2,787 primary party organizations in the republic and, consequently, the same number of secretaries, of whom more than 2,500 carry out this vital social assignment in conjunction with their basic job. Another 2,500 communists head up shop party organizations. All of them are also engaged in their own everyday job. To carry a double load is very difficult, especially considering that the tasks they face are growing steadily more complex and will continue to do so. This is inevitable; the times demand it. Can the party organization secretaries successfully cope with their own duties without relying on a broad aktiv, without enlisting all communists in the effort and ensuring that they carry out their party assignments? I think not.

It is more than just a matter of communists, however, it also involves the broad social aktiv, without whose participation it is impossible to further develop democratic principles directly in production, in the labor collectives. Many enterprises have set up permanent production conferences, comradesly courts, and social cadre offices--that is, all possibilities for actively enlisting practically everyone in the administration of their shared affairs--workers, engineers, and employees. It is possible to resolve many problems by means of all these forms. In many places, however, they are utilized inadequately and unskillfully. Let us state frankly that in many enterprises they are virtually forgotten. It doesn't pay, some say. But why? Because no one is concerned with them. General assemblies of workers and permanent production conferences are prepared hastily, without thought, and are frequently conducted in a superficial and formalistic manner, just for the sake of checking it off in the report. How would it pay? In short, it is necessary to straighten out the situation with regard to utilizing them as the basis of effective forms of work.

The primary party organizations should conduct systematic work with the critical remarks of party members. It should be a rule that local party committees and party buros listen carefully to the opinion of party members and react in a businesslike and principled manner to criticism directed at them and economic and trade union organs. After all, the inertia of which we sometimes speak and about which we complain, the decline of party members' active involvement, starts exactly in those collectives in which people's opinions are no longer considered, their thinking is not taken account of, promises are made and then the people's desires and suggestions are not carried out. But it is not enough just to hear a man out. It is essential to tell him just what is being done or will be done in accordance with his suggestion. If for some reason, however, nothing can be done, this must also be stated and the reasons explained. Only in this way is it possible to create conditions for the further manifestation of initiative.

It is essential to make fuller use of the possibilities of socialist competition. Everyone knows how much competition can do to develop people's initiative and improve efforts. But we still have much formalism and red tape

in our organization of competition. What is lacking most of all is concreteness, openness--in short, that which makes competition truly effective.

Experience has shown that the results of competition are tallied mostly in terms of percentages and figures, frequently in a limited range, without the necessary analysis or special exactingness. Often the workers don't even know who among them has been named winner, or why. Probably that is why obligations are often noted in a formalistic manner, just for show, only as much as is called for. And throughout the year, right up to the tallying of results, hardly anyone is interested in them. How then can one speak of heating up labor rivalry, developing initiative and a questing spirit? But things could and should be otherwise. In the Yukhiselu Printing Plant, for example, photographs of the best workers of the day are posted daily. People can see immediately who is ahead, who they have to match.

Of course, it is not possible everywhere to post photographs daily, but it is possible to post names, hang posters, and say "thanks." What is needed is to tally the results daily, to know always who has achieved the best results, who is lagging, who should be praised, and who may need encouragement and criticism. But this is the thing people don't have time for, and more importantly, they lack steadfastness and follow-through. Yet this is the very concreteness in effort, the businesslike qualities, which we so often lack.

What else needs our attention? A real payback from the measures that are carried out. That is what characterizes genuinely businesslike qualities, the correct party style. In utilizing tried and true practical forms and methods of work, it is also essential to more decisively rid ourselves of the "paper" style of management, it is essential to be genuinely concerned for the effectiveness of decisions that are taken, to strengthen control and verification of execution, to enhance people's responsibility for their assigned job. It is essential to fight decisively against all manner of formalism and "going through the motions" in party work. And, of course, it is necessary to develop comprehensively the initiative of party members, as was mentioned above. Such are the requirements of today, such are the indispensable conditions for fruitful party work.

It is essential to be concerned constantly as well for enhancing the role of party assemblies, to see to it that they are conducted in an atmosphere of creativity, with a healthy dose of criticism and self-criticism, so that the decisions that are taken are concrete, contain practical recommendations, and indicate precisely how the work is to be organized and specifically who is responsible for it. The party assembly is, in essence, a mirror of the work of the party organization, reflecting its ability to act. It is also necessary to make more effective all work with individual communists, to expand the practice of consultations and reports by party members at assemblies and meetings of party committees and buros. It is exceptionally vital, moreover, to avoid formalism.

The party organization's authority is built on its actual deeds and on how they are done, that is, the style of the work. And its authority among the masses must be constantly enhanced and maintained on a high level.

At the April 1984 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, Comrade K. U. Chernenko emphasized that "we must substantially activate the party's collective thinking--not only general theoretical but also political thinking." These words obligate our republic's communists to do much. We have a mature, well-educated party aktiv, many experienced and highly respected leaders who possess excellent organizational and business skills, who are ideologically dedicated and have received a firm political tempering. And there is no doubt that they will honorably carry out the new and greater tasks which the Communist Party has set before us.

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Riga LITERATURA UN MAKSĻA in Latvian 22 Jun 84 p 13

[Article by Peteris Zvidrins, PhD, Professor of Economics: "How Long Shall We Live?"]

[Text] For some time now, our republic's demographic situation has been at the center of society's attention. Characteristically, in recent years, discussions on this question have been joined not only by scientist-specialists, but party, state, and cultural officials as well. The phrase "demographic policy" that even in the 60's was quite unfamiliar to the general public, appears more and more frequently even in popular publications.

Demographic policy has become an integral component of the state's socio-economic policy. The necessity for realizing an effective demographic policy within the framework of the entire nation was demonstrated during the last two sessions of the party congress. Demographic conclusions reflect ever more widely upon economic and social development plans.

The great differences in demographic situations and demographic processes within the various regions or republics of the Supreme Soviet USSR show the necessity of differentially solving each region's actual demographic problems. Even in the separate regions and cities of a single republic the demographic situation most often is not balanced. For instance, in our republic, the situation is presently very unfavorable in the Latgale zone. Therefore, along with the individual projects of regional politics, it is advisable to realize particular local undertakings. The necessity of such a differential approach to the practice of demographic policy was indicated also by the XXVI Congress CPSU.

It is well known that Latvia has a most pressing birth rate problem. Therefore, it was only natural that these questions were focused upon when the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee and the government of the republic reviewed and strengthened the succession of projects that would stimulate natural population growth. Only a few years have passed but results have made themselves felt already. The birth rate in 1982, and especially last year, has noticeably grown. Last year even a record of sorts was reached: the number of births for the first time exceeded 40,000. Thus, for the 4th consecutive year, natural population has increased.

Against the background of this attainment, the divorce, and especially the death rate, statistics look very unfavorable. In this article I wish to draw attention to the latter because this problem has not yet been examined on an expanded circle of the population.

No matter what a population's demographic situation is, the natural increase of that population is determined by its health and vitality, which is reflected in the resultant death rate and average lifespan indicators. In Soviet Latvia substantial progress has been made in the reduction of the death rate of its population. In the latter half of 1940 and in the 1950's the average lifespan grew systematically at heretofore unprecedented speeds. Within the mentioned time frame, annually, the average lifespan increased by 0.7 years! In the middle of the 1960's the average expected lifespan of newborns already exceeded 70 years, for women it even reached 75 years. Those were among the highest levels not only in our country, but also in the entire fellowship of socialist states.

I would especially like to emphasize that these achievements were gained under difficult circumstances because in the war years the entire national economy suffered. Although state allocations for the purpose of health protection grew unceasingly, their size, compared to that of the present, was modest. Amazing that such a rapid growth in the average lifespan took place in circumstances where the occupation years brought substantial losses to the population itself. The post-war years brought heightened disability statistics, many families destroyed and for a large number of women of marriageable age it was even theoretically impossible to obtain suitable marriage partners. The abovementioned fact testifies to the positive influence of the people's health protection system upon the health and reduction of the death rate.

Still, it has been almost 2 decades now that the death rate statistics have not decreased, and the average lifespan has not grown. Among men, the death rate has even risen, especially in the agricultural regions. This tendency sharply contrasts with the objective statistics of the people's improved living standard. The social security system was essentially perfected during the period since the mid-sixties. Judging from the numbers of doctors and bed spaces in hospitals, according to relative statistics, our republic has moved to the forefront of other socialist republics and even of the most economically developed nations. Only in Georgia is the relative number of doctors even higher. Unfortunately, according to lifespan average indicators, our republic has lost its position, not only on the world scale, but in this matter; all of its nearest neighbors (Estonia, Lithuania, White Russia, Ukraine), and also several southern socialist republics of the USSR are ahead. So there emerges a problem in our republic that must be urgently solved. Here it must be noted that in some other socialist republics these questions are just as actual. Also in several economically developed nations the lifespan average has remained practically stationary, but nowhere else does the problem appear to be so acute.

A partial explanation for its origin can be found upon examination of the cause-of-death structure and mortality statistics according to the top three causes. Those are diseases of the circulatory system, malignant tumors, and accidents of all types. Most alarming to us is the resumption of cardiac diseases and

accidents, poisonings and growth of the number of traumas. Especially large are the numbers of traumas and traffic accidents, many people are killed in drownings, fires, and also suicide. In the mid-50's, approximately 8 percent of the total deaths were due to accidents, but in the beginning of the 1970's--12 percent. In the last 10 years nothing comforting has surfaced in this matter.

In our times medical possibilities for lengthening life have largely been exhausted. Even victories over "diseases of the century"--cardiac and circulatory disorders and malignant tumors--do not promise any significant increase in the average lifespan because it is the elderly who have usually died of these causes. Substantial reserves are hidden in a person's own organism and his attitude toward it. Unfortunately, the lifestyle of many families and individuals is unfavorable to it.

Especially our men sin greatly in this matter. Many people do not use their free time constructively. The numbers of alcoholic beverage consumers--men--grow increasingly. No wonder, therefore, that the average lifespan of men is 10-11 years shorter than that of women. As is known, influenced by biological factors, this difference can only attain 2 to 3 years. Added to that, contemporary women allow themselves, more often than not, that "extra glass," that cigarette, or that other foolish behavior. Therefore, lifespan statistics of women are not a standard by which to compare a strong birthrate.

The consumption of alcoholic beverages in the republic grows from year to year, much more rapidly than population growth. Although total consumption, measured in pure alcohol, is much smaller in Latvia than in the traditional wine and beer countries (France, Portugal, Italy, German Federal Republic, and others), nevertheless, the consumption of hard liquor beverages in the republic is quite large, exceeding the average all-union level. Growing also is its destructive influence upon the health of the population, the family, and the natural replacement of generations, in a quantitative as well as a qualitative sense. Especially alarming is the drinking among the youth and even among adolescents. That is why I would like to linger on alcohol consumption especially.

It is often considered that the decrease of alcohol production would be a loss to the economy. Such a conclusion is false. The promulgators of such an opinion have either not immersed themselves in the heart of the matter, or are deliberately distorting it. It is undeniable that the profits realized from alcoholic beverages by the state treasury are substantial. In our republic alone the size of the annual profit realized reaches approximately 600 million rubles. However, in this type of computation not only should the costs of production be captured but also much else. First of all, the material losses in connection with the decrease of productivity of workers who have used alcoholic beverages on the job or shortly before. In this same debit column must be captured the potentially unrealized value of workers who died as a result of the influence of alcohol, not to mention the moral aspects of such tragedies. Naturally, in the calculations must also be included losses connected with disability, internal and medical agency expenditures connected with the corresponding "client's care," not to mention the destructive influence of alcohol upon the future generation. In such a manner the wide consumption of alcohol causes great distress

to society, the family and the consumer himself. Unfortunately, it seems there is no more effective method to curb this epidemic than only the corresponding education of citizens, for "dry laws" have not given the desired effect anywhere. In truth, the production of individual beverages should be curbed.

The noted Canadian physiologist, Hanss Selje, in his book "My Life's Stress," writes that "biological age and chronological age are two entirely different matters... many people already at age 45 have a very geriatric mentality and behavioral motivation, they would like to retire, and, if such a possibility presented itself, can actually do without work. Others, even at 80 years of age, do not cease their joy of living and are completely able to act in such a manner as to be useful to themselves and society."

One can agree with the stress theory author when he talks also of the necessity to work out a scientifically acceptable code of ethics--a behavioral philosophy. It is generally known that in the preservation of human health, and also in interpersonal realtions, purely psychological factors have a certain significance. For instance, it would seem that Cuba's surprising example of the sharp decrease in mortality levels and average lifespan increase under soicalist conditions (the average lifespan of contemporary Cuban citizens already exceeds by several years that of the last corresponding published indicator in our republic) can be explained in large part by the limiting of destructive overstress (hyperstress) and insufficient stress (hypostress), by the prevalence of pleasant emotions in Cuban daily life.

When talking of unpleasant emotions, it must be pointed out that they often occur in conjunction with poor marital relations. There is even a generally known basis for claiming that the swift unraveling process of the family, which started after the easing of the divorce procedures in the mid-60's, has found its reward in the unfavorable dynamic of the death rate. Each year the divorce procedure affects 24-25 thousand once-marrieds and, in even greater numbers, their relatives. Poor marital relations between spouses and family strife affect very unfavorably the health of children, their emotional harmony, and their progress in their studies and work.

Strange, that women, who since ancient times have been looked upon as the guardians of home and hearth, are now most often the initiators of divorce. Several scientific investigations of divorce carried out in the republic attest to the fact that men more often than women, by their behavior, contribute to the disintegration of the marriage. Yet, not seldom do we meet up with the misunderstood concept of emancipation on the part of women, even with feminine extremism. Prudent feminine exactingness makes itself known, not in open categorism, but in an attitude that is able to uplift another person and cement the entire family. Naturally, if in families (and partly also in society as a whole) "war of the sexes" is being waged, a sense of instability comes about, a discomfiture of the soul, and in the strife-torn family the unwillingness to put more children into the world is also more pronounced. A good family microclimate improves the entire social organism, but a poor one--slows down its development. The state of a person's psychological well-being is able to greatly increase or decrease his energy and his work results. Unfortunately, the power of the home-hearth has been misjudged for some time. With full

concentration on production, the state of the family was not given the necessary attention. It turns out that this affects the birth rate, marital stability, also health and mortality rates, on the demographic situation as a whole.

For some time in the post-war period mortality between city and land dwellers was identical, even though the rate of medical services in the country was at a much lower level. This was compensated for by other favorable conditions in the country. Today, although the levels of medical services between city and country have, to a certain degree, closed, the death rate in the country has grown substantially. The determinant significance, in the author's view, is attributable to the fact that the agricultural mechanizers often lack brides. Those left without families often resort to drinking in their leisure time. Therefore, society will have to concern itself with the correction of previously tolerated errors, that in the country there should be a balance in the numbers of young men and women. Would a sensibly developed production-aid not be of help here?

Families will not grow strong and the lifespan will not increase if decadent in human relations is not harmony, responsibility and a sense of duty. Therefore, in the upbringing of children and youth, it is necessary to accent not so much the development of intellect as character, moral upbringing, and work-ethic education. It is to be thought that the up-to-now tolerated shortcomings will be partly eliminated by the consistent realization of school reforms.

Our century, especially the second half, is called the cybernetics and computer technic... also cardiac and circulatory disease era. Cardiac and circulatory diseases are most widespread in the highly industrialized regions. In our land, right in the Baltic republics, especially Latvia and Estonia emerge with a high prevalence of these ailments. A sedentary lifestyle, excesses in eating and alcohol consumption, endless haste, and smoking—you see, the most important risk factors of these diseases.

Specialists look upon smoking as especially harmful. Smoker mortality from cardiac and blood vessel ailments is approximately one and a half times higher than non-smoker, myocardial infarction and stenocardia occurs among smokers 12 to 13 times more frequently than among non-smokers. Smokers get sick more intensively with lung, oral cavity, esophagus, gastric and bladder tumors. Statistics testify that smokers shorten their life on the average by 6 to 8 years. Smoking also negatively influences the progeny. Under such circumstances should we calmly watch while many deliberately shorten their lives?

In the battle against smoking we should be more categorical because smokers not only harm themselves but also all those around them. In recent years a measure of success has been attained in the battle against this social disease, still, it is quite modest. Society must achieve that smoking would be forbidden in all institutions of learning, smoking should also be curbed in work rooms. Taking into account the injuriousness of smoking, thought should also be given to stronger penalties for those who deliberately ignore social norms, and the encouragement of those people to whom this unhealthy habit is unattributable.

When speaking of the possibilities of lengthening the human lifespan, scientists quote various figures, even such as would seem quite fantastic: 150-200 and more years. True, actual figures undoubtedly are smaller. The greater part of people could live 85-90 years. But then, right from birth, people would have to live in conformity with psycho-hygenic norms, observe work and rest, a nutritional regime, and scientifically-based physical burdens.

In the 70's the realization of the Soviet All-Union composite program, "Life-span Lengthening," was begun. In the republic too, work is being done on the composite demographic development program to be completed within the time frame of the end of this century. Within it is also the sub-program in the increase of the population's average lifespan. It is expected that ministries, departments, and work collectives will soon carry out the new undertaking to protect the health of the population and the prevention of untimely death. There is reason to consider that the on-going crisis in lifespan evolution will be overcome. Yet, progress will, in a large measure, depend on us. Health is a treasure for which it is necessary to overcome unhealthy habits, to form a healthy lifestyle.

12708

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REGIONAL

PERSONAL PROFILES OF CURRENT, PROSPECTIVE PARTY MEMBERS VIEWED

Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 16 May 84 p 2

[Article by S. Simanenko, chairman, party commission under the Ventspils party gorkom: "Recruiting the Young"]

[Text] Among a number of important topics discussed, party recruitment was thoroughly analyzed in the last election campaign. The recruitment of worthy working class members received special attention.

The party organization of Ventspils was augmented by 106 members in 1983. There were many economists among the CPSU candidate members. Many local party organizations are now making a greater effort at recruiting young communists who are occupied in the most important professions and skills of their collective. This is especially prevalent among the trade board, the "Sarkan Bak" fishery, the port plant, domestic service, and other enterprise and institution party organizations. Front-rank workers and individuals of high public and social conscience are also among the candidates accepted as CPSU members. These include V. Petrenko and V. Tereshin of the port plant, A. Valanyis of the ATP-6, N. Shapovalov of the "Baltmorgidrostroy" trust SU-467, T. Kazimirchik and R. Seglina of the KBO [domestic service combine], among others.

It is important also to consider the improved general level of education of those now entering the party. Both workers and members of the intelligentsia are now receiving or have received university degrees. ATP-6 lathe operator V. Koval', SU-467 integrated brigade leader V. Malichkin, and Transflot longshoremen N. Dymkov are studying at the Riga Polytechnic Institute without leave from their jobs, and commercial sea port inspector I. Saunite is studying at the Liepaysk Pedagogical Institute. And there are many other examples.

Becoming a candidate member to the party requires more than winning the trust of one's comrades. It entails greater enthusiasm on the job, an active participation in public activities, and a more solid theoretical training. The young communist schools created at the party municipal committee, the petroleum shipping center, and at the commercial sea port help the candidates acquire these qualities. The CPSU candidate members study intensively at the schools, learning the fundamentals of Marxist-

Leninist theory. Aspects drawn from the working and social life of the labor collectives are extensively utilized in the lessons. Specific examples aid in mastering the materials taught, and enable the students to utilize their newly acquired knowledge at the job site, while expanding their perspective. The young communists' enthusiasm is buoyed, which in turn improves their efficiency on the job.

Local party organizations are striving to more quickly integrate the young comrades into internal party organization workings. They are given various sorts of tasks. This is an aid in making their participation in the work of the labor collective felt from the very start of their candidate member stage. Many young communists elected into the Young Communist League and Professional Union organs serve as political propagandists and advocates, and work in the DND [Voluntary People's Militia], and other public organizations.

Many organizations have begun utilizing the young communists to speak of their experience in fulfilling their official responsibilities and assignments, and of passing the candidate member stage at party committee, party buro sessions and at party meetings. Valuable experience has been accumulated by the local party organizations of the port plant, the SU-467, the KBO and the trade board. The accounts of young communists are heard here together with those of sponsors who describe the aid and attention given by the young communists to candidate members. This assists in the enlistment of worthy recruits.

There are other kinds of examples, as well. Last year, six candidate members to the CPSU did not become communists. In itself this is perfectly acceptable, since it is the purpose of the candidate status to decide if an individual is worthy to become a political warrior for the party. However, this also serves as proof that certain party organizations are not sufficiently attentive in their selection of CPSU candidate members. And yet it is the fundamental responsibility of each party organization to carefully check the moral and professional attributes of prospective CPSU members.

There are instances when young communists do not set an example at the work place, or are passive in their public role. Some during their candidate stage do not speak even once at party gatherings. Not every candidate can tell about his passing of the candidate member stage, and party groups and sponsors are not to blame here.

The inability of certain party organizations to increase their ranks with new recruits over a period of years is also not satisfactory. This especially pertains to the party organizations representing railway junctions. Also, the local construction board, the port hospital, and other organizations and establishments are making insufficient effort in the preparation of communists.

The municipal party committee and its party commission attach great value to the recruitment of worthy, hard-working individuals, and front-rank factory workers, as well as vigorously public-minded individuals.

This important subject has been repeatedly discussed at bureau plenums and meetings, at party commission sessions, and at local party secretary conferences. Resolutions have been made and measures adopted. For instance, plans have been put into action for the implementation of the municipal party conference resolution regarding the improvement of the party admission procedure and the indoctrination of young communists.

Party members must always keep a close association with the people, in order to influence them, and fulfill a vital organizational and educational role among the masses. Theirs must be the highest example. It is this task that General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee K. U. Chernenko brought to the attention of party members at the February and April (1984) Plenums of the Party Central Committee, and at the pre-election meeting of electors. Improved efforts in the enlistment of young people will aid the municipal party organization in the solution of this task.

12678

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REGIONAL

FLOOD CONTROL INSTALLATIONS PLANNED FOR LENINGRAD

[Editorial Report] Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 25 July 1984 carries on page 1 a 500-word unattributed article entitled "On a Firm Scientific Basis." According to the article an experimental laboratory complex is being built in connection with the construction of flood control installations in Leningrad. Designed with the aid of the All Union Scientific Research Institute of Hydrotechnology, the laboratory will house a scale model of the Neva Delta and the eastern part of the Bay of Finland, as well as the section of the Neva from the Liteyniy Bridge to the Shepelevskiy Lighthouse. Scientists will use the model to simulate floods and study the feasibility of regulating the water level in the Neva by means of a permanent system of hydrotechnical installations which would not alter the natural flow of the river. Meanwhile, temporary installations are planned to provide flood control and to create a dry land access to Kotlin Island.

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